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# The Way of CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES C L E A R E D :

In two TREATISES.

In the former, { From the Historical Aspersions of Mr.  
*Robert Baylie*, in his Book, called [A  
Disswative from the Errors of the  
Time. ]

In the latter, { From some Contradictions  
of  
VINDICE CLAVIUM :

And from, { Some Mis-constructions of Learned Mr.  
*Rutherford* in his Book intituled [The  
due Right of Presbyteries. ]

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By Mr. JOHN COTTON, sometime Preacher at *Boston*  
in *Lincolne-shire*, and now Teacher of  
the Church at *Boston*, in  
*New-England.*

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1648. 9<sup>th</sup> L O N D O N,

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at the signe of the three Golden-Lions;  
in *Cornhill*. 1648. 7.





# An Epistle PACIFICATORY, To the Brethren dissenting from this Way:



**H**ere (Reverend Brethren) is presented unto you in Print, that very Copie, which the worthy Author (Mr *John Cotton*, Teacher of the Church at *Boston* in New England) sent together with his letter under his own hand unto me. His honouring me therein (upon my real account) deserved his request, *that I would assist the Press*, which with the greatest diligence opportunity put into my hands I have performed. And the worth of the subject, and the Authors sweet and solid handling of it, hath richly rewarded my labour, *legendo, pe, legendoq;*, in the usal and perusal thereof. The *Man*, most patient towards a sharp *Antagonist*, (you your selves being judges.) The *Manner of handling*, gracious; meek words, playing the Champion for Veritie and Innocency, with arguments of steel, unsheathed and shining with an amiable plainnes of speech, and a free and sincere openesse of heart. The *Matter* partly *Apologetical*; partly *Controversal*. In the *former* part you will meet with: 1. A true and terse History, of the purer Churches in later pudled times: The blots aspersed upon them, cleerly pumiced and spunged off; and divers precious Saints for learning and religion (through whose sides Christs wayes by opposents have been sorely wounded) *εὐτόνως ἢ ἀναπαρομῶς*, evidently and unrepliablely vindicated. 2. A very good account of many singular Doctrinal points, not onely of more speculative Theologie, ventilating the chaff from the wheat, Error from Truth; but of most practical Soul-searching, Soul-saving, and Soul-solacing Divinitie. I might give golden instances, glazing gloriously upon my Spirit, but for falling under a leaden retard-

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ing of dispatch; fearing lest the presse tarry for me; for it even treads on my heel. In the latter part of this Book, being Controversial, you have a fair *Additional* to the *Models* (afore printed) of the Church way (so much called for by you;) not Magisterially laid down, but friendly debated by Scripture, and argumentatively disputed out to the utmost inch of ground, and defended *Cap a pie* (as they speak) from the head to the heel, of every branch of Truth essential to the controverſie.

Now then (worthy Brethren) consider and view over what ye gain to your design, whiles some among you endeavour by pen to blot the fair copy of Truth; (because *you at present* <sup>b</sup> Stoop not down low enough to see it a Truth) and to crosse out of the Book of mens memory and esteem the names of them whom God will honour, though you will not? Surely the copy is written out fairer and fuller; books are multiplied; more men reade them; and by reason of the late mists hovering over Truth, and cordes of bondage streightning mens consciences; all men of conscience are more eager to search out, and having found, to stand to, and sit down by those Truths that clear their minds, and set free their spirits. Mists mantling and masking, the Sun ascending, are soon cast off, and dispelled by its beams, being neer his Zenith. We grasp with men of rising parts, and high places, for free speaking, about Text proof Points, to our losse. By an Antiperistatistical opposition, the zeal of godly learned Writers, (before concealedly clouded with more silence) is set on fire: the cloud breaks, the voyce of their thunder (as the Historian speaks of that Greek Commander *Pericles* his Fulminating Oratory) awakens the World, and the flame burns up *the hay and stubble*. Truth is like Camomile; the more it is trodden, the more it spreads. Like the Wal-nut tree, the more it is beaten for its fruit this year, the more it fructifies the next. Eclipses cause men more to stare after the Sun, and more joy in the injoying of its light, when

1. Church government and Church Covenant.

2. The way of the Churches in N. England.

3. The *Apologes*. Narrat.

4. The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven.

5. The model of the Church way by M. Bartlett.

6. Answer to 3<sup>d</sup> Quest.

7. 1. Pet. 3. 18.

8. *Εἰς ἀνέκδοτον*

9. *ἢ ὡς ἴσως*

10. *ἢ ὡς ἴσως*

The Angels desire earnestly to stoop down to look into the things of the Gospel.

1. Cor. 3. 12, 13.  
14 &c.



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when got free. The *Jews* crying up Mosaical Ceremonies, and humane traditions; *Stephen, Peter, Paul*, dispute, Preach, Apologize for the Spiritualtie, and liberty of the Gospel. Act. 3. Act. 4. What succeeds? thousands are converted, ten thousand are convinced, and the World is *over-run with the knowledge of the truth, as the waters cover the Sea*. The *Gentiles* likewise, (especially the *Roman Empire*) take the next turn to dignifie the christians, scandalize their religious practises, and to persecute both (witness the ten persecutions.) What was the income, the return of gain upon that adventure? Upstart those mighty Giants in Religion, awakned with an holy inflammation of zeal, *Aristides, Justinus, Melito Apollinaris, Athenagoras, Apollonius, Tertullianus, &c.* And gloriously Apologize for the Truth: *James, Thomas, Andrew, Matthew, Philip, Mark*, and others of the *Apostles*; *Simon and Parmenas* of the 7. *Deacons*; *Simeon, Zenon, Polycarp*, and millions more in ensuing ages by succession, die for Christ, and seal to the certainty of the Truth with their blouds, making glorious confessions of it, whereby many Martyrizers, become Martyrs. *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesie*. Whiles the Persecutors marred (as they thought) Martyrs, they made Martyrs: and by their opposition they increased shrill and conspicuous confessions and professions of the Truth of Jesus. In so much that *Plyn* a great States man to the Emperour, writes to him a persuasive to stay the persecution. At last, an Emperour himself *Constantine the Great*, becomes a Christian, and then down went *Barabbas*, and *Christ* was exalted. The Sun of the Gospel shone out once again over the face of the whole earth.

Therefore my humble request to you my Reverend Brethren, is, that yee more study Peace, and stir up Love, among Brethren, and lesse controversie in these unparelled times of universal contention, totally polemical, both Scholastically, and civilly. And to this end let us be warned (by that good account this Book renders unto us) of facil credulity

*Sanguine fundata  
est Ecclesia, sanguine  
creavit, sanguine  
saccrevit, sanguine  
finit erit.*

lity, either to reports, or letters, or Books, unlesse they be handed to us from the Authors themselves, with whom ye have to do. Otherwise (as this book bears notable witness) our eyes and ears shal be abused, and our judgements warped from the simplicity and straitnesse of Truth. Suppose any real difference should be between us: if we agree in *foundation doctrinals*, yea, and in the main Principles of the *constitution and jurisdiction*, or power of a *particular Congregationall Church*: as that it should consist of *Saints in union*, invested with *Power* to take in and cast out; I wonder it should amount to so high a contest, about degrees (which alter not the kind) of *forming and reforming* such a Church. You say *SAINTS in outward profession is the Matter* of such a Church; and an implicit uniting, *viz.* a walking and communicating with you is a sufficient *evidencing of the form*. We judge that real *SAINTS* uttering in discourse the breathings of the Holy Spirit, and experiences of conversion, witnessed in a stricter conversation, to be the *Matter*; and their *solemn confession* of their Faith, and *expresse open covenanting* with the Lord to walk with such a body of Saints in all the wayes of Christ to their light and power for reciprocal edification, to be the *Manifest Form*. How is it now that only a *going before one another in degrees of reformation, according to the National solemn League and Covenant*, should breed in you as it were a *specificall* opposition against us? If you have a mind to ascend up higher to fetch down differences from above, about *Appeals*: Nor here hence is their just cause to build up such Bulwarks of Hostilitie between Brethren. If in the reign of *Episcopacy*, those Parishes were quiet where could not be found work for the *Hierarchie* to intermeddle; surely then the *Classes* may conveniently permit particular Congregations, (prostrated below them as it were at their feet) to rest in peace, whiles they meetly manage their own Church affairs, within their own Sphere. If we need advise, we shal willingly look on a company of Godly Elder and Brethren of other



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Churches, called together for counsel by our, and other Churches (be the Assembly of them smaller, greater, or greatest) as upon an Ordinance of Christ, and as bound by the Truth of Christ as readily to receive, as they are to give counsel to us according to the Truth. Onely we cannot be contented to look absolutely upon all their advise (without exception) as *authoritative* dictates, and *Magisterial Canons*, necessarily to be obeyed *sub pœna* under a penalty, how much soever our consciences remain unsatisfied the mean whiles.

The case standing hereabouts (as near as I could rough-draw the state of it in this instantaneous haste) let us I beseech you be rather *Irenæi*, then *Cassandri*. As we do *ὁδοι-δέρν* (*Galat. 2. 14.*) walk even with the right foot in the Gospel; so let's in discipline (whiles the difference in the thing is no wider) give one another (as the Apostle speaks, *Gal. 2. 9.*) the right hand of fellowship. A learned Scot well observeth, that there is a kind of justice among thees, else their society would soon be disbanded. And shall it not be among Brethren, Saints, Ministers, least we dissolve Churches, yea, ordinary communion of Saints? Let *Idol-Dagon* be half fish and half man, but let not Christ be divided, nor the profession of his Truth be set at ods. If our hearts grudge (and let that be our sorrow) yet let us not gnash the teeth and saw one anothers repute a two, with the teeth of keen words. Let not anger *בַּעַץ* boyl up into a foam, to throw the scum upon one another. Hereby else we slay both the souls of thousands, and the charity of 10000 to their sin, and our discomfort. O it is a sad thought on my spirit, that we should pretend to have the *Paraclet* (so called in many languages for its comprehensive signification of Friend, Comforter, Doctor, Advocate, Intercessor, &c.) that is, the Spirit, to be our comforter, and yet it should appear so little in us, to teach us and convince us of vilipen-

Peace-makers,  
not Breach-makers.

Weems.  
Portrait p. 7.

AQ. 7. 54.

Ester. 1. 18.  
The word signifies to be angry, and to foam.

Chalde.  
Job. 16. 20.

פַּקֵּדוֹתַי

Syriac.  
John 16. 7.

פַּרְקִלִּיטָא

Gr. παρακλητος  
In N.T. often  
Vet. Lat. Paracleti  
in N.T. often



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vilepending, or to work in us *love, friendship, and beseechings* towards one another. Now that the Lord would by his Spirit, with a second conversion (as the Scripture calls the progresse of mortification of some special corruption) transform our rugged hearts into love, charity, yea dilection, is the prayer of yours to serve you in the Lord, and for the Lord,

NATHANAEL HOMES.

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The worthy name of the Reverend and Learned Author of this Treatise ( which with delight I have perused ) is a sufficient argument to perswade; not onely to the reading of it, but also to a beliete and expectation of something Excellent therein.

Imprimatur

January 1. 1647. *John Bachiler.*



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Reader, be pleased (where its Printed false) to read  
right; as in these instances.

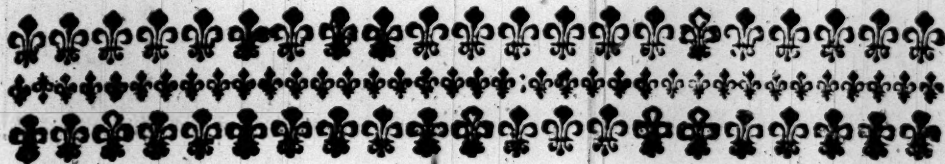
Part. 1. p. 6. *Αυθαδεια*, p. 8. Forbes, p. 42. כלי p. 44 erga, p. 79. l. 6.

Author. p. 83. l. 9. scelus.

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# Treatise I.

## CHAPT. I.

*Of the Title inscribed to Mr. Baylie his Book, A Disswative from the Errors of the Time.*



**N**oah gave it for a blessing to his son *Japhet* (in a word both of Prophecy and Prayer) God perswade *Japhet* to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*, *Gen. 9. 27.* And if a Perswative to dwell in the Tents of *Shem* were a blessing; then a Disswative from the Errors of the Time (rightly so called) is a blessing also. But when Mr. Baylie is pleased amongst the Errors of the time to reckon (that which he calleth) Independency; he may do well to consider, whether he bring not upon his credulous Reader a curse in stead of a blessing.

The supposed Errors found in those who are called Independent Churches, are chiefly two, upon which all the rest doe depend: and both of them such as may well be cleared by *Noah's* blessing.

For, 1. they hold, that *Cham* and *Chanaan*, whilst they are such, (that is, gracelesse persons, and scorers at the falls and infirmities of the Saints) they are not to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. *Noah* did not pray for such a blessing to them; yea, it had been a curse both to them and *Shem* (if he had so prayed) and not a blessing.

2. They hold also, that *Japhet* himself should not be brought to dwell in the Tents of *Shem* till God perswade him. They would



PART V. would not have *Shem* to enlarge his Tents, to compasse or compell *Japhet* to live under his shadow. It is one thing for *Japhet* and *Shem* to dwell together by voluntary consociation; another thing for *Shem* to rule over *Japhet* by undesired and unallowed jurisdiction. Let *Cham* and *Chanaan* be as servants unto *Shem*, and to *Japhet* too, (for so *Noah* prophecyed:) but let not *Japhet* be a servant to *Shem*, no more then *Shem* to *Japhet*. But though these bee the principall Tenents of Independents (as they are called;) and indeed blessed truths in the blessing of *Noah*: yet Mr. *Baylie* reckoneth these amongst the Errors of the Times; and the Independents themselves amongst the wanderers on the right hand, together with Brownists, (as he calleth them,) Anabaptists, Antinomians, Seekers: As on the left hand, he reckoneth Prelates, Papists, Arminians, Socinians, Erastians. And it should seem, he taketh Independents to be one of the most dangerous Sects of them all, (at least, as the state of the times now standeth:) or else he would not have addressed all the whole force of his Discourse against them: Onely taking up Brownists (as he stileth them) by the way, to usher in the other with the greater prejudice. But for my part, I dislike not Mr. *Baylie's* zeal against Errors where it is rightly placed: Onely let him allow the like liberty to us, which he taketh to himself, That as he publisheth a Disswative against Errors; so we may have leave to bear witness to the Truth.

## CHAP. II.

*Of those whom the Disswader styleth Brownists.*

### SECT. I.

“ **M** After *Baylie* rightly observeth, That in our departure  
 “ & flight from *Rome*, some took up their stand too soon,  
 “ before they had passed the lines (he meaneth all the lines) of  
 “ communication with the Whore: and others ran on too long  
 “ (or too far) beyond the bounds of truth and love. The former of these sorts he maketh the Lutherans, in respect of some defects in their Reformation. The latter, he maketh to be the Anabaptists in *Germany*. The successors of the former, he maketh

to be *Crammer*, *Ridley*, and those other Confessors and Martyrs PART I.  
who seled Episcopacy and Ceremonies in *England*. The suc-  
cessors of the latter sort, (the Anabaptists) he maketh to be those  
whom he styleth Brownists.

But as there is a vast difference between the Episcopacy of *En-  
gland*, and the Superintendency of *Germany*, (the one ruling by  
Monarchicall Power, the other by the consent of the Aristocra-  
ticall Presbytery:) so neither is there such correspondency be-  
tween the *Germane* Anabaptism, and the *Englisch* Brownism, as to  
make Brownism a native branch of Anabaptism.

“ Yes, (saith the Disswader) That Brownism is a native branch  
“ of Anabaptism, is evidenced, by the frequent transition of the  
“ one to the other. The dissolution of ice and snow into water,  
“ argueth strongly their originall from that element; so the  
“ ordinary running over of the Separatists to the Anabaptists.

*Answer.* The dissolution of ice and snow into water, doth indeed  
argue strongly their originall from water, because they are easily  
resolved into it without putrefaction or corruption. But so is not  
the Separatist resolved into a *German* Anabaptist, without a fur-  
ther degree of corruption and putrefaction. It is no argument a  
man is bred of worms, because he is next resolved into worms;  
for he is not so resolved without putrefaction. Say not, a man is  
resolved at last into dust from whence he was first taken; and yet  
the resolution is not made without putrefaction. For a man is  
not made of dust naturally, but by a transcendent creating power  
above Nature. But the Disswader maketh the Separation a native  
branch of Anabaptism.

Besides, I suppose, it is not an obvious thing to hear of an Ana-  
baptist turn Separatist, though some Separatists have turned Ana-  
baptists; which argueth there is not such a mutuall frequent  
transition from the one to the other, as is yearly found of ice and  
snow into water, and of water into ice or snow again.

## S E C T. II.

The first Separatist, which the Disswader saith he hath read of,  
“ was one *Bolton*, who was a Minister of an old separate Con-  
“ gregation, and afterwards felt the sense of his Errors so grie-  
“ vous to his soul, (by the finger of Gods Justice stirring in his  
conscience)



PART. I. “ conscience) that he did not onely publickly at *Pau's-brosse* recant them, but thereafter was so dogged with a desperate remorse, that he rested not till he had hanged himself.

*Answ. 1.* Though *Bolton* may have been the first Separatist that the *Disswader* hath read of; yet he might have read of others before him. For in the Book called *The Register of memorable matters touching Reformation*, there is recorded a story of an hundred persons, who refused the common Liturgie, and the Congregations attending thereunto, and used prayers and preachings, and Sacraments amongst themselves: whereof 14 or 15 were sent to prison: Of whom the chiefest was Mr. *Smith*, with Mr. *Nixon*, *James Ireland*, *Robert Hawkins*, *Thomas Boweland*, and *Richard Morecroft*. And these pleaded their separation before the Lord Mayor, *Bishop Sands*, and other Commissioners on June 20. in the year 1567. which is about fourscore years agoe; and this as it seemeth was many years before *Bolton*; for Mr. *Baylie* reckoneth the wandring of the Separatists to be about 50 years standing, (*page 59.*) but this *Smith* and his company was 30 years before.

*Answ. 2.* Old Mr. *Bruister* (the reverend Elder of the Church of *Plymouth*, a man of long-approved piety, gravity, integrity) his testimony of this *Bolton* may take off the prejudice which the fearfull fall of *Bolton* seemeth to Mr. *Baylie* to cast upon the Separation: Which I will recite, not to justifie that way of his separation, but to take off unjust scandals. “ This *Bolton* (saith he) “ partly by the terrors of Bishops, and partly by flattery, was “ brought indeed to recant. But afterwards they sleighting him, “ the terrors of the Almighty fell upon him, and considering “ how he had sinned against his conscience, he (*Judas-like*) laid “ violent hands upon himself.

But the *Disswader* may be pleased to consider, that Apostasie from the way of Separation, and terror of conscience even to desperation, and self-murder following thereupon, are no just exceptions against Separation: no more than *Judas* his apostasie from Christ, and terror of conscience even to desperation and self-hanging following thereupon, were any just exceptions against Christianity.



SECT. III. Of Mr. Brown, and Barrow.

Of Mr. *Brown* and Mr. *Barrow*, it is farre from me to make any defence either of their persons, or of their way of rigid Separation: the hand of God upon their spirit, giving them up, one to a spirit of inconstancy and prophanenesse; the other, to a spirit of bitterness and rashnesse. Though it is no just conviction of the errors of their way of Separation: yet it is a shrewd argument that either their way was not right, or their hearts not upright in it.

But this let me say, be it so, that *Brown* did revolt from his way, and took a Parsonage from the Bishop, and that in a Town by name called *A-church* in *Northampton-shire*, (a reall check to his error, who formerly counted every Church in *England* no Church:) yet this backliding of *Brown* from that way of Separation, is a just reason why the Separatists may disclaim denomination from him, and refuse to be called after his name, Brownists. If *Judas*, or *Julian*, or *Ecebolius* doe apostate from Christianity, no reason is there that all that professe the way of Christianity should be called Judaïtes, or Julianists, or Ecebolians. In the Ecclesiasticall History, though *Photinus* was the disciple of *Marcellus* in an hereticall opinion touching Christ: yet the followers of them both, when *Marcellus* had revoked his error, were not called *Marcellini* but *Photiniani*. To speak with reason, if any be justly to be called Brownists, it is onely such as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophanenesse. For Mr. *Barrow*, though I neither excuse the unsoundnesse of his judgment, nor the bitterness of his style: yet I doubt the Disswader is deceived, when he saith, "That Queen *Elizabeth* was so impatient of his contumelies, that she caused him in a morning to be hanged on the Tower-hill. For there be grave Professors (who lived nearer those occurrences) who speak of Queen *Elizabeth* as ignorant of *Barrow's* execution, and *Greenwood's*, and displeased at it, when she heard of it afterwards: neither was their execution on Tower-hill, but at Tyburn, long after the sentence of death passed against them.

## PART I.

## SECT. IV. of Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Ainsworth.

The Disswader is deceived when he saith, "Mr. Ainsworth with his half, did excommunicate Mr. Johnson and his half. For as I am informed by some judicious Professors who lived in those parts, Mr. Ainsworth and his company did not excommunicate Mr. Johnson and his, but onely withdrew from them, when they could no longer live peaceably with them. Mr. Johnson his last Book, argueth he had learned more moderation of spirit, then he did put forth in his former times.

Mr. Ainsworth, a man of a more modest and humble spirit, and diligently studious of the Hebrew Text, hath not beene unusefull to the Church in his Exposition of the *Pentateuch*, especially of *Moses* his Rituals, notwithstanding some uncircumcised, and ungrounded Rabbinicall observations recited, but not refuted.

But when the Dissawder saith, that M. Ainsworths company after his death, remained long without all Officers;

There bee sundry living that know the contrary. For when he dyed he left two Elders over the Church, Mr. Delacluse, and Mr. May.

And therefore I doe not see any ground of that speech,

"That the weight and evidence of Gods hand against Ainsworth had so farre disgraced that Sect, as the Disswader expresth. For though in simplicity of heart, in some things he went astray: yet the way he walked in, did not suffer disgrace by him, nor by the weight and evidence of Gods hand upon him, for ought I have ever heard or read of him, save in Mr. Baylie. The Lord knoweth how to bee mercifull to such as seeke him in simplicity of heart, according to light revealed, though hee doe observe and chasten some Errour in their way.

## SECT. V. of Mr. Smith, and Mr. Robinson.

The fall indeed of Mr. Smith, and the Spirit of errors and instability that fell upon him, was more observable: and a dreadful warning from heaven, against *audacious* selfe-sulnesse, and self-



self-pleasing. For though the tyranny of the Ecclesiasticall Courts PART I.  
was harsh towards him, and the yokes put upon him in his Ministry, too grievous to be borne: yet neither was hee alone in suffering: Nor were those that suffered with him at that time, (Mr. Clifton, and Mr. Robinson) such inconsiderable Persons, that hee should affect to goe alone from them. It is true, he had found helpe by the conference (which himself had requested) with Mr. Dod, Mr. Hilderson, and Mr. Barbon, before he left *England*: yea and such helpe, that he thought he could have gained his Tutor *Jobnson*, from the Errors of his Rigid Separation. But hee had promised them, not to goe over to him, without their consents: and they utterly dissuaded him there-from, as fearing his instability. And yet contrary to his Promise he went over to him, yea, and that contrary to his owne pretence and offer of another conference with them before his going. Though the way of Rigid Separation had been lesse Heterodoxall, then it is, yet to venture upon it in such breach of manifest Rules, no marvell, if it led him into manifest temptations and Abberations.

“ The Disswader is mis-informed, when hee saith (page 16) he  
“ moved a great company to follow him to *Ley* in *Holland*. For  
as I understand by such as lived in those parts at that time,  
hee lived at *Amsterdam*, and there dyed, and at *Ley* in *Holland* he  
never came.

Of Mr. Robinson, the Disswader doth rightly observe, that hee  
“ was a man of the most learned, polished, and modest spi-  
“ rit of that way, and withall hee might have said, so piously  
“ studious, and conscientiously inquisitive after the Truth, that  
“ (as the Disswader rightly observeth) it had beene truely a  
“ marvell, if such a man as hee, had gone on to the end a rigid  
“ Separatist.

As a fruit of his studious inquisition after the Truth, hee re-  
sorted (as I have understood) to many judicious Divines in *En-  
gland* for the clearing of his Scruples, which inclined him to  
separation: and when hee came into *Holland*, hee addressed him-  
selfe to Doctor Ames, and Mr. Parker: rather preventing them  
with seeking counsell and satisfaction, then waiting for their  
compassion. But as they excelled in learning and godlinesse, so  
in compassion and brotherly love also; and therefore as they dis-  
cerned his weanednesse from selfe-sulnesse, so did they more  
freely

**PART. I.** freely communicate light to him, and received also some things from him. The fruit of which was (through the Grace of Christ) “ that the Disswader himselfe confesseth, hee came backe indeed the one halfe of the way : Acknowledging the lawfulness of “ communicating with the Church of *England*, in the Word “ and Prayer : but not in the Sacraments and Discipline, which “ was (saith hee) a faire Bridge, at least a faire Arch of a Bridge “ for union. But when he saith, hee came on to communicate “ with the Church of *England* in the Word and Prayer, it must not bee understood of the Common-Prayer-Book, but of the Prayers conceived by the Preacher before and after Sermon: And yet in coming on so far as he did, he came more then halfe way of any just distance.

For though hee stuck at the Common Liturgy, Sacraments and Discipline: yet since then it hath appeared, there was no just ground of coming on to them. The Honourable Parliament, and Reverend Assembly of Divines have (by the grace of Christ) seen just cause to remove the Liturgy, to abolish the Hierarchy (which was the Discipline hee chiefly stuck at) and to give order for restraint of ignorant and scandalous Persons from the Sacrament, which may well make up two or three Arches more (as Mr. Baylie calleth it) of that faire bridge for union, farre more then the halfe way.

It is true, Mr. *Robinson* did not acknowledge a Nationall Church governed by the Episcopacy to be a Church of Divine Institution. But though hee acknowledged the stile and privileges of a Church in the New Testament to belong to a particular Congregation of visible Saints: yet such Nationall Churches, French or Dutch, as were governed by Presbyters, and separate from the world at the Lords Table, he did not disclaime Communion with them, I have beene given to understand, that when a Reverend and godly Scottish Minister came that way, (it seemeth to have been Mr. *John Tarbes*) he offered him Communion at the Lords Table: though the other for feare of offence to the Scottish Churches at home, excused himselfe. Yea when some English men that offered themselves to become Members of his Church, would sometimes in their confessions professe their Separation from the Church of *England*; Mr. *Robinson* would beare witness against such profession: Avouching, they required



no such professions of Separation from this or that, or any Church, but onely from the world. All which doe argue, that his comming on to Protestant Churches, was more then the half way. " But (saith the Disswader) this new Doctrine (or way) of " Mr. *Robinson*, though it was destructive to his old Sect; yet it " became an occasion of a new one, not very good. It was the " womb and seed of that lamentable Independency in *Old* and " *New-England*, which hath been the fountain of many evils already though no more should ensue, as anon shall be declared.

*Ans.* When this commeth to be declared, I hope it will come to be declared also, that the way of Independency hath been bred in the womb of the New-Testament of the immortall seed of the Word of Truth, and received in the times of purest Primitive antiquity, many hundreths of years before *M. Robinson* was born: and that it hath not been the fountain of any evils at all, much lesse of such evils, as to deserve the style of lamentable Independency.

SECT. VI. *Of the contempt and contumelie said to be put upon the old Brownists by the Independents.*

**T**O shut up this Chapter, the Disswader telleth us, " That the " way of the old Brownists is become contemptible not " onely to all the rest of the world, but to their own children " also; even they begin to heap coals of contumelies upon their " Parents heads; as may be seen in the Elogies which both *Mr. Cotton*, and the five Apologists are pleased to give them in " Print; yea, so much are these Children ashamed of their Fathers, that they usually take it for a contumelie to be called after their name. No Independent will take it well at any mans hand to be called a Brownist either in whole, or in the smallest part.

*Ans.* 1. No marvail, if Independents take it ill to bee called Brownists, in whole, or in part. For neither in whole, nor in part doe we partake in his Schism. He separated from Churches and from Saints: we, onely from the world, and that which is of the world. He turned apostate from the Separation which he had professed; and it is absurd to denominate either Sect or right way, from such as apostate from it. If he had stood constant in his way, and his way had been the same with ours, yet we were

**PART. I.** not baptized into his Name; and why should we then be called after his Name? If schism be a manifest fruit of the flesh, then they that give Nick-names tending to the reproach and division of Brethren, they walk after the flesh; for they sow variance and schism amongst Brethren.

2. It is an unjust and unworthy calumny, to call either Cotton or the Apologers, the children of their Fathers, whom he styleth Brownists. They never begot us, either to God, or to the Church, or to their Schism: a Schism, which as we have lamented in them, (as a fruit of misguided ignorant zeal:) so we have ever born witness against it, since our first knowledge of it.

3. Though we put not such Honor upon those he calleth Brownists, as to own them for our Fathers; yet neither doe we put so much dishonor upon them, "as to heap coals of contumely upon their heads. We look not at them with contempt, but compassion: Neither doe we bear witness against their Schism in any words of contempt and reproach, (which are the characters of contumelie) but in words of spirituall and just reproof, even in such terms, not which scornfull wit, but which holy Scripture suggesteth.

### CHAP. III.

*An answer to the Dissvaders 3 Chap. touching the originall and progresse of the Independents in New-England.*

#### SECT. I.

*Of the Title put upon us of* { *A Sect,*  
*Independents.*

**T**He way of the Churches in *New-England* is neither justly called a Sect, nor sely called Independency. Not a Sect; for we professe the Orthodox Doctrine of Faith, the same with all Protestant Churches; we celebrate the same Sacraments; and submit to the spirituall government of the same lawfull Guides, so farre as Christ and our own choyce hath set them over us. And though we doe not subject our selves to the Government of the Elders of other Churches, (as many great Churches doe,) yet we acknowledge and reverence such Churches in the Lord, as



true Churches of Christ, and are willing to make use of their P A R T. I.  
Brotherly counsell and help as need shall require.

And though we doe not open the doors of our Churches so wide, as to receive all the Inhabitants of a Nation, or of every Town, into the fellowship of our Churches; yet we doe not separate from such Protestant Churches as doe take that liberty: but onely we separate from the world, that is, from the worldly sort of them, who either live in open scandall, or at least doe not openly hold forth any spirituall discerning of the Lords Body, and are therefore unfit to communicate at the Lord Table.

Nor is Independency a fit name of the way of our Churches. For in some respects it is too strait, and in others too large; it is too strait, in that it confineth us within our selves, and holdeth us forth as Independent from all others: whereas indeed we doe professe dependence upon Magistrates for civil Government and protection: Dependence upon Christ and his Word, for the soveraign government and rule of our administrations: Dependence upon the counsell of other Churches and Synods, when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of such help from them. And therefore this title of Independency straitneth us, & restraineth us from our necessary duty, and due liberty.

Again, in other respects, Independency stretcheth it self too largely, and more generally, then that it can single out us. For it is compatible to a Nationall Church, as well as to a Congregationall. The Nationall Church of *Scotland* is Independent from the Government of the Nationall Church of *England*; and so is *England* Independent from *Scotland*. Nor is there any Sect at this day extant, but shrowdeth themselves under the title of Independency. The Antipædobaptists, Antinomians, Familists, yea, and the Seekers too, do all of them style themselves Independents. Nay, even the Pope himself, (who exalteth himself above all Civill and Church-power) yet even he also arrogateth the title of Independency; *Prima sedes à nemine judicatur*; that is, the Sea of *Rome* is Independent. Why then should Independency be appropriated to us, as a character of our way, which neither truly describeth us, nor faithfully distinguisheth us from many others? Wherefore if there must needs be some note of difference to decypher our estate, and to distinguish our way from a Nationall Church-way, I know none fitter, then to denominate theirs Classically, and ours Congregationall.

## PART I.

SECT. II. *Of the number of the Congregationall Regiment, and of the wisdomethreaped upon them, in engaging Persons of note to them.*

The Disswader acknowledgeth, "We are not numerous, but  
" the fewest in number of the noted Sects, and not to consist of  
" above One thousand persons within the Lines of the Cities  
" Communication.

*Ans. 1.* If we be the fewest of noted Sects, it was sometime  
the lot of Gods *Israel* to be the fewest of all people, *Deut. 7. 7.*

*Ans. 2.* If there be a thousand of our way within the Lines  
of the Cities Communication, I hope there want not divers more  
to be added to them in other parts of *England*, besides some thou-  
sands more in *New-England*. But it is not for us to follow *Da-  
vids* sinne in numbring the people of the Lord; onely the Lord  
increase their number an hundredth fold, (yea, a thousand fold)  
and make them as the stars of heaven for multitude.

But for the quality of the persons, the Disswader telleth us,  
" They have been so wise, as to engage to their party some of  
" chief note in both Houses of Parliament, in the Assembly of  
" Divines, in the Army, in the City, and Countrey-Commit-  
" tees.

But in so saying, the Disswader putteth a dishonor both upon  
God, and upon those persons of chief note. It is a dishonor to  
God, to attribute that to the wisdom of man, which is the  
mighty and gracious work of the wisdom of God. And it is a  
dishonor to such men, to hold them forth as engaged to this way  
by the wisdom and industry of men, who have been well known  
(and some of them for many years) not to have engaged them-  
selves or others any further, then the grace of Christ, and the  
conscience of his Word hath engaged them to doe and suffer, ac-  
cording to the will of God.

SECT. III. *Touching the Line of the Pedegree of the Inde-  
pendents in New-England.*

" The Separatists (saith the Disswader) were their Fathers.  
" This is demonstrable not onely by the consanguinity of their  
" Tenents, (the one having borrowed all their chief Doctrines  
" and



“ and practises from the other: ) but also by deduction of their  
 “ Pedegree in this clear Line. Mr *Robinson* did derive his way  
 “ to his Separate Congregation at *Leyden*; a part of them did  
 “ carry it over to *Plymouth* in *New-England*: Here Mr. *Comen*  
 “ took it up, and did transmit it to Mr. *Goodwin*, who did helpe  
 “ to propagate it to sundry others in *Old-England* first, and after  
 “ to more in *Holland*; till now by many hands it is sown thick  
 “ in divers parts of the Kingdom.

*Ans.* That the Separatists were our Fathers, we have justly  
 denied it above; seeing they neither begat us to God, nor to  
 the Church, nor to their Schism. That we are (through grace)  
 begotten to God, and to his Church, we received (many of us)  
 from the blessing of Christ upon the Ministry of *England*. That  
 we grew weary of the burden of Episcopacy and Conformity,  
 we received from the Word of God by the help of the Non-con-  
 formists there. That we laid aside the Book of Common-prayer,  
 we received from the serious meditation of the second Com-  
 mandement, and not from the Writings of the Separatists,  
 though they also had taken up the same Conclusion upon other  
 premises. The particular visible Church of a Congregation to  
 be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the  
 light of the Word from Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Baynes*, and Dr. *Ames*:  
 from whom also, (from two of them at least) we received light  
 out of the Word, for the matter of the visible Church to  
 be visible Saints; and for the Forme of it, to be a mutuall Cove-  
 nant, whether an explicate or implicate Profession of Faith, and  
 subjection to the Gospel of Christ in the society of the Church,  
 or Presbytery thereof. And these be the chief Doctrines and  
 practises of our way, so far as it differeth from other Reformed  
 Churches. And having received these, not from the Separatists,  
 but from the Lord Jesus, by gracious Saints, and faithfull witnes-  
 ses of Jesus; the consanguinity of our Tenents with any the  
 like found amongst the Separatists, will not demonstrate the Se-  
 paratists to be our Fathers.

It is very likely (and by the fruits of some of them, it is very evi-  
 dent) that the Church of *Plymouth* in *New-England* received very  
 much light and life, by the blessing of Christ upon Mr. *Robinson*  
 his Ministry, whilst he lived with them in *Holland*; nor need we to  
 be ashamed, to learn any truth of God from him, or them, or from  
 any other Saints of God, of farre meaner gifts, then he or they  
 had.

**PART. I.** had received. But I must confesse ingenuously, that his denyall of the Parishionall Congregations in *England* to be true Churches, (either by reason of their mixt and corrupt matter, or for defect in their Covenant, or for excesse of their Episcopall Government) was never received into any heart, from thence to inferre a nullity of their Church-estate. Neither was our departure from them even in those evill times, a Separation from them as no Churches, but rather a Seccession from the corruptions found amongst them, unto which also we must have beene forced to conforme, even in our owne Practise through the Rigour of the times, unlesse wee had timely departed from them. In which case, Doctor *Ames* will excuse us (yea and the Holy Ghost also) from aspersion of schism or any other sin, in so doing, *De Conscientiis, lib. 4. cap. 24. Numero 16. in Responsione 7. ad quest. 3.*

The Disswader is mistaken (when he saith Page 54.) That  
 “ after the death of *Ainsworth*, there remained onely a small  
 “ handfull of Separatists at *Amsterdam*, and another small com-  
 “ pany at *Leyden*, under Mr. *Robinsons* Ministry, and besides them,  
 “ no other at that time were known in the world of that Re-  
 “ ligion.

For Mr. *Iacob*, whom Mr. *Lothrop* succeeded and after him Mr. *Barbon* being an Elder governed the same Separate Church in *Leyden* which held Communion with Mr. *Robinsons* Church, as appeareth by their Letters published in Print. And that Church as it began before Mr. *Robinson*, so it continued after him, and stildoth. And it is no lesse a mistake, when the Disswader maketh the Di-  
 “ visions in Mr. *Robinsons* Church, or his desertion of many of  
 “ their Principles to be an occasion of well-neare bringing that  
 “ Church to nought: till some of them went over to *New-*  
 “ *England*, and perswaded their neighbours who sate down with  
 “ them in *New-Plymouth* to erect with them a Congregation af-  
 “ ter their Separate way.

For the Church at *Leyden* was in peace, and free from any division, when they tooke up thoughts of transporting themselves into *America* with common consent. Themselves doe declare it, That the proposition of Removall, was set on foote and prosecuted by the Elders upon just and weighty grounds. For  
 “ (to use their owne words) though they did quietly and sweet-  
 “ ly enjoy their Christian & Church-liberties under the States:  
 “ yet they foresaw *Holland* would be no place for their Church,  
 and



“ and their posterity to continue there comfortably : at least in  
 “ that measure, which they hoped to finde abroad, and that for  
 “ these reasons, which I shall recite, as I received them from  
 “ themselves.

“ 1. Because themselves were of a different language from the  
 “ Dutch where they lived, and the Dutch were settled in their  
 “ way ; in so much that in ten yeares space, whilst their Church  
 “ sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform  
 “ the neglect of the Lords Day, or any other thing amisse a-  
 “ mongst them.

“ 2. Because their Countrey-men who came over to joyne  
 “ with them, by reason of the hardnesse, and chargeable-  
 “ nesse of the Countrey, soone spent their estates, and then were  
 “ forced either to returne backe for *England*, or to live very  
 “ meanelly.

“ 3. Because the Countrey was a place of so great liberty  
 “ to children, that they could not educate their children,  
 “ as their Parents had educated them: nor could they give  
 “ them due correction, without reproof and reproach from their  
 “ Neighbours.

“ 4. Because their posterity would in a few generations be-  
 “ come Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English Nation,  
 “ name and language.

“ These being debated at first in private, and thought weighty,  
 “ were afterwards propounded in publike, and after Solemne  
 “ Dayes of Humiliation both in publike and private, it was  
 “ agreed, that part of the Church should go before their Brethren  
 “ into *America* to prepare for the rest: And in case the major  
 “ part of the Church did choose to goe over with the first, then  
 “ the Pastor to goe along with them. But if the major part  
 “ stayed, then hee to stay with them: and to follow after-  
 “ wards, when they should heare out of *America* of their safe-  
 “ ty and health, and possibility of subsistence: But the Lord  
 “ translated him to himselfe, before therest could prepare to  
 “ goe along to their Brethren. Notwithstanding when the  
 “ first company Embarked themselves for *America*, their Bre-  
 “ thren accompanied them to the Sea, and tooke their leaves  
 “ with such abundant expressions of Brotherly Love, as drew the  
 “ neighbour Dutch to much observation, yea and some Admi-  
 “ ration of them, at *Delph-Shoven* in *Holland*. Their departure

**PART I.** therefore was not in a way of division among themselves, but with mutuall consent, and common intendment of peaceable cohabitation.

Neither did that company which came over to *Plymouth*, erect here a New-Church (as the Disswader taketh it,) for by consent of the Church which they left, they came over in Church-state, and onely renewed their Covenant when they came hither.

Neither did the Church of *Plymouth* (as the Disswader reporteth them) incontinently leaven all the vicinity.

“ For (as themselves say) at the first comming there was no vicinity of Christian habitation. They came over in the yeare 1620. Mr. *Endicot*, (the Captaine with his Company) came not over till the yeare 1628. and sat downe at *Salem*, 8. yeares after *Plymouth*. The yeare following, Mr. *Skelton*, and Mr. *Higginson* came over, and sitting downe with Mr. *Endicot* at *Salem*, entered into a Church there. How far they of *Salem* tooke up any practice from them at *Plymouth*, I doe not know: sure I am, Mr. *Skelton* (their Pastor) was studious of that way, before he left *Holland* in *Lincolnsire*.

Nor was there any other Church planted after *Salem* till Mr. *Winthrop*, and some other godly gentlemen, and many good Christians came over together with Mr. *Wilson*, and Mr. *Philips*, (Ministers of the Word:) whereof the one gathered a Church at *Boston*, the other at *Water-Towne*, in the yeare 1630. The next yeare followed Mr. *Eliot*, and the yeare after Mr. *Wald*, who gathered into a Church at *Rocksbury*, as old Mr. *Nesverick*, and Mr. *Warham* had done the same before at *Dorchester*.

It was in the yeare 1633. when Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Stone*, with myself arrived in the same Ship together: and being come, we found severall Churches gathered, and standing in the same Order, and way, wherein they now walke: at *Salem*, at *Boston*, at *Water-Towne*, at *Charle-Towne*, (which issued out of *Boston*) at *Dorchester* and *Rocksbury*. So that the Disswader is much mistaken, when hee saith, the Congregation of *Plymouth* did incontinently leaven all the vicinity: seeing for many yeares there was no vicinity to bee leavened. And *Salem* it selfe that was gathered into Church-Order seven or eight yeares after them, was above 40. miles distant from them. And though it bee very likely, that



that some of the first commers might helpe their Theory PART I.  
by hearing and discerning their practice at *Plymouth*: yet  
therein the Scripture is fulfilled, The Kingdome of Heaven  
is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three mea-  
sure of Meal, till all was leavened, *Math. 13. 13.*

But yet if the Disswader knew the spirit of those men who first  
came over hither, after *Plymoth*, (though before us) hee would ea-  
sily discern, they were not such as would be leavened by vicinity of  
neighbours, but by the Divinity of the Truth of God shining  
forth from the Word. The body of the people at that time was  
not of such a carnall spirit, as so many of them to leave so faire  
accommodations, and dear relations in our native Countrey,  
to come over into a wilderness, to take up a Forme of Go-  
vernment, upon any such ground as the Disswader conceit-  
eth, because it holdeth out so much liberty, and honour to the  
people.

This were indeed not to seek out for Liberty of Conscience,  
but Elbow-roomth of lust; and not to attend the honour, but the  
humor of the people. To passe such a judgment upon strangers,  
had need to arise from Divine Revelation, or else it will fall under  
the note of humane temerity.

“ But (saith the Disswader) howsoever it was in a few years,  
“ the most who settled their habitations in the Land, did agree to  
“ modell themselves after *Robinsons* pattern.

*Asw.* I do not know, that they agreed upon it by any common  
consultation: But it is true, they did as if they had agreed ( by  
the same Spirit of Truth and unity ) set up (by the help of Christ)  
the same modell of Churches, one like to another. But whether  
it was after Mr. *Robinsons* pattern, is spoken gratis: for I beleeve  
most of them knew not what it was, if any at all. And if any did  
know it, the men were such, as were not wont to attend to the pat-  
terns of men in matters of Religion, (for against that many of  
them had suffered in our native Countrey ) but to the pattern of  
the Scriptures.

**S E C T. 4.** Of Cottons pretended former dislike of the  
*New-English way, and after closing with it.*

In pursuing this pedegree and descent of New-English Di-  
cipline, the Disswader is pleased to present mee to the world, to  
bee

PART. I. " be the first who appeared in displeasure against it, though afterwards to have fallen into a liking of it.

But how doth he make it appear, that I did appear in displeasure against it? His proof is from a private Letter of mine to Mr. Skelton, where I call it an error, (whether in Mr. Skelton, or " some of his people) to conceive, that our Congregations in " England are none of them particular Reformed Churches. Surely, if that be all the proof, I willingly acknowledge, I did appear against that Error. But neither was I the first that did appear against it, (but divers godly English Ministers before me:) neither have I fallen to the liking of the contrary opinion since.

But the Disswader is much deceived, if he take that Error to be the judgment of the Churches of *New-England*, howsoever some particular persons may lean that way.

Nor will it yeeld any better proof, that which he alledgeth out of my Preface to Mr. *Hildersons* Sermon upon *John*. For that which I there wrote, concerneth the way of the Rigid Separation, which renounceth the Churches of *England* as Antichristian, and the godly members thereof, as no visible Saints. Neither is my judgment altered at all in this Point to this day: which also I have lately maintained in my Reply unto Mr. *Williams* his Answer of my Letter, and in a Treatise concerning the Baptism of Children. And what I have written in this Point is suitable to the judgment of the Body of the Churches and Elders in *New-England*, and not at all repugnant to the way wherein we walk.

But I marvel, what should move the Disswader to report of " me, That though in *England* I fell off from the practise of " some Ceremonies, and but of some of them, and was distasted " with Episcopall Government: yet so long as I abode in " *England*, I minded no more then the Old Non-conformity: For in this one sentence he giveth a double misreport of me.

" First, that in *England* I fell off but from some of the Ceremonies. For (by the grace of Christ) I forbore all the Ceremonies alike at once, many years before I left *England*. The first grounds which prevailed with me to forbear one Ceremony, would not allow me to practise any. The grounds I well remember were two: 1 The significancy and efficacy put upon them in the Preface to the Book of Common-prayer: " That they " were neither dumb nor dark, but apt to stir up the dull minde " of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some no-  
" table



“ table and speciall signification, whereby he may bee edified, P A R T. I.  
or words to the like purpose.

The second was the limitation of Church-power, (even of the highest Apostolicall Commission) to the observation of the Commandements of Christ, *Matth.* 28. 20. which made it appear to me utterly unlawfull, for any Church-power to enjoin the observation of indifferent Ceremonies which Christ had not commanded. And all the Ceremonies were alike destitute of the commandement of Christ, though they had been indifferent otherwise, which indeed others have justly pleaded they were not.

What favor I was offered not onely for connivence, but for preferment, if I would have conformed to any one of the Ceremonies, I forbear to mention. Yea, when I was suspended upon speciall complaint made against me to the King that then was, and all hope of restitution denied to me, without yeelding to some conformity, at least in one Ceremony at least once; yet the good hand of the Lord so kept me, that I durst not buy my Ministry so dear: And yet (I thank the Lord) my Ministry was dearer to me (to speak the least) then any preferment.

When the Bishop of Lincoln-Diocese (*Dr. Mountaigne*) offered me liberty upon once kneeling at Sacrament with him the next Lords-day after: or else to give some reason, why (in conscience I could not) unto *Dr. Davenant* (then Bishop-elect of *Salisbury*, who was at that time present with him at *Westminster*) I durst not accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling; but I gave them this reason for my excuse and defence,

*Cultus non institutus, non est acceptus:*

*Genuflexio in perceptione Eucharistiae est cultus non institutus;*

*Ergo, non est acceptus.*

The second misreport which the Disswader maketh of me in his former sentence, is, “ That howsoever when I was in England, I was then distasted with Episcopall Government; yet so long as I abode in England, I minded no more then the Old Non-conformity.

I passe by his unsavory metaphor of my distaste of Episcopall Government. Conscientious judgment in matters of Religion is not led by taste or distaste: will he say, that both the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* have abolished Episcopall Government upon a distaste?

## PART I.

But when he saith, "I minded no more then the Old Non-conformity whilst I abode in *England*, he must be more privie to my mind then any mortall man is, and then my self too, to make it good. There were some scores of godly persons in *Boston* in *Lincoln-shire*, (whereof some are there still, and some here, and some are fallen asleep) who can witnesse, that we entered into a Covenant with the Lord, and one with another, to follow after the Lord in the purity of his Worship; which though it was defective, yet it was more then the Old Non-conformity. Besides, I had then learned of Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Baynes*, (and soon after of Dr. *Ames*) that the Ministers of Christ, and the Keyes of the Government of his Church are given to each particular Congregationall Church respectively: And therefore neither Ministers nor Congregations subject to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of Cathedrall Churches, no, nor of Classicall Assemblies neither, but by voluntary consociation, and that in some cases; and those falling short of that which is properly called subjection to their Jurisdiction. Which made mee then to mind not onely a neglect of the censures of Commissary Courts, (which bred not a little offence to them, and disturbance to my self) but also to breath after greater liberty and purity not onely of Gods Worship, but of Church estate. But suppose that I had then minded no more then the Old way of Non-conformity: yet the experience of the Godly will easily acknowledge, that the way of the Lord is light and strength to the upright, and giveth more and more understanding and enlargement to them that walk in it.

Nay, the Disswaders own words might convince him, that I minded more then the Old Non-conformity, whilst I abode in *England*. "For if Mr. *Cotton*, and those Brethren who went "along with me, came over to *New-England*, to joyn our selves "with those *American* Churches, (as he saith) it argueth plainly we did not upon our coming hither, goe contrary to our former judgment, and fall into a liking of this way. For then we would never have taken so long and hazardous a voyage to joyn to Churches, whose way was contrary to our judgments all the while of our abode in *England*. Rationall charity would conceive, that Christian men, who chose rather to forfeit our Ministry, and maintenance, and all our dear relations in our native Countrey, then to submit to a course contrary to our judgments,



ments, would never transport our selves to *America*, to run a contrary course to our judgments in a land of liberty. But thus in heat of pursuit of an adversary (whether cause or person) men will not stick to suffer their tongues and pens to run over, though for haste one word interfere with another.

SECT. V. *Of the pretended danger of the New-English way unto the world, after Cotton and others clasing with it.*

But to proceed, why should the Disswader conceive, That our  
“ coming over into these parts, and joyning with these Ame-  
“ rican Churches, should cause this New-way (as he calleth it)  
“ to begin to grow dangerous to the rest of the world?

To which world (I pray you) hath this way grown dangerous? to the Christian world? or to the Antichristian world? or to the Pagan world?

The Pagan world of Indians here will acknowledg our sitting down by them, hath prevented the danger either of their dissolution or servitude. For the Indians in these parts being by the hand of God swept away (many multitudes of them) by the Plague, the manner of the Neighbor-Indians is either to destroy the weaker Countreys, or to make them Tributary: which danger ready to fall upon their heads in these parts, the coming of the English hither prevented. And of late (through the grace of Christ) one of our fellow-Elders, Mr. *Eliot*, Teacher of *Rockbury*, having gotten the knowledg of the Indian language preacheth to them every week: one week to one Congregation on the fourth day, to the other on the sixt the week following. And to him they willingly give eare, and reform their vicious living according to his Doctrine; and some of them offer themselves to be trained up in English Families, and in our Schools: and there be of them that give good hope of coming on to the acknowledgment of the grace of Christ. To them therefore our way is not dangerous.

To the Antichristian world, the more dangerous it is, I doubt not, it is the more acceptable to God, and I hope, it is not the lesse safe in Mr. *Baylie's* eye. Some of the Jesuites at *Lisborn*, and others in the Western Islands have professed to some of our Merchants and Mariners, they look at our Plantations, (and at some

**PART. I.** of us by name) as dangerous supplanters of the Catholick cause. If that be the greatest danger, I presume Mr. Baylie will not *ab hoc dicto secundum quid*, pronounce us dangerous (*simpliciter*) to the rest of the world.

To the Christian world, what danger hath accrewed by our means? many that knew both our Magistrates and Elders, and the chief sort of our people, and knew how little we affected to travell into foraign Countreys to see fashions; they upon our departure grew more inquisitive into the cause of our voluntary exile; and thereupon, more jealous of corruptions at home in the Worship of God, and in Church-Discipline; more sensible of the burden and danger of Episcopall tyranny, and consequently more ready to follow the good example of the Churches and Commonwealth of *Scotland*, in rejecting and straking off Episcopall usurpations and intrusions of Liturgies. And hath this been so dangerous to the rest of the world?

Besides, if Books and Letters doe not delude us with false intelligence, the great salvation, and glorious Victories which the Lord hath wrought for *England* these late years by any English power, his own right hand hath brought to passe chiefly by such despised instruments as are firnamed Independents. And are then the witnesses of that way so dangerous to the rest of the world?

Wherein then lyeth the danger of this way?

It seemeth the Disswader conceiveth (as some others have done) that this way hath bin a double danger to those Churches: 1 In becomming a dangerous inlet to all kinde of Sects, who shrowd themselves under the name of Independents, and claim impunity under their shadow. 2 In retarding the establishment and free passage of the work of Reformation.

But for the former, if the devill come and sow Tares, yea Bryars and Thornes, where Christ hath sown Wheate, is therefore the wheate a dangerous graine? And if thereupon not onely tares, but bryers and thornes plead for freedome from eradication, must therefore the wheat be plucked up, to root out the rest? Surely the way which is practised in *New-England* cannot justly be taxed for too much connivence to all kinde of Sects: wee here doe rather heare ill for too much rigour, which evidently argueth, our way is of it selfe no inlet at all to all kinde of Sects, unlesse it be meere by accident: as Christianity hath been



an inlet to all kinds of heresie; for where there is no Chrillianity, P A R T. I.  
there is no heresie.

As for the latter, the retarding of the worke of Reformation, Surely we find it here the readiest way to a speedy Reformation. The commond disorders obvious and ordinary in other Plantations are here either not found, or soone Reformed. The Retarding of Reformation in *England* springeth rather, partly from such as would have no Reformation at all, but affect elbow-roomth to their owne lults; partly from such as will have no Reformation, but in their owne way. But if it might please the Lord to bow the hearts, both of the Presbyterians, and of the Congregationalls, so farre as both of them are come, to walke by the same rule, and minde the same thing, (both of them to minde Reformation according to the rule of the Word, as they conceive it; both of them to redresse abuses, the Presbyterians, the abuses found in their Churches, and the Congregationalls in theirs,) doubtlesse, it need not to bee feared the worke of Reformation will speedily find (by the blessing of Christ) a free and mighty passage throughout the three Kingdomes.

SACR. 6. Of Cottons pretended misleading { Mr. Davenport  
Mr. Goodwin.

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If it be true which the Disswader relateth from Mr. Edwards, " that before my departure from *England*, I had by conference in " *London* brought off Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Goodwin, from some " of the English Ceremonies.

Why doth he note me in his margent to be a Misleader of Mr. Goodwin and others? Is it a misleading to lead men away from the English Ceremonies? Were they Misleaders, who led the Honorable Houses of Parliament to fall off from the Ceremonies? Or did the Parliament mislead the people of *England* to the disuse of them?

But Mr. Baylie knoweth not Mr. Davenport, nor Mr. Goodwin, if hee thinke the ablest Divines in Christendome, much lesse such a poore weake thing as my selfe could bring them off to forsake their publike Ministry, wherein they were notable instruments of good service to God and man, unlesse they saw the light of the Word and Spirit of Grace to goe before them in such wayes. Virgin-soules are wont to follow the Lambe, wheresoever hee goeth (Rev. 14. 4.) And the Sonnes of God are led by the Spirit of

**PART I.** of God, (*Rom. 8. 14.*) And therefore let Mr. Baylie be intreated not so much to undervalue his holy Brethren, as to think they were rather misled by me, then led by the Spirit and Word of Grace in their own judgments and consciences. It is true, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Goodwin, with some other godly Brethren had some conference with me at *London*, about the cause of my sufferings, and of my purpose to leave the Land; which they said, they desired the rather, because they did not look at mee as a passionate man, though the Disswader (who knoweth me not) be pleased so to represent me to the world in this Paragraph. And upon their motion two Points were chiefly debated: 1. Touching the limitation of Church-power, to matters of commandement, not of indifferency, (which I touched before.) The 2. touching the office of Bishops, whether the Scripture Bishops bee appointed to rule a Diocese, or a particular Congregation. Now both these being agreed upon amongst us, Mr. Edwards is much mistaken, and Mr. Baylie too, when they say, that neither Mr. Davenport, nor Mr. Goodwin, nor my selfe did mind any further then the leaving of some few ceremonies. For grant the former principle, of the limitation of Church-Power to matters of Commandement, and all the Ceremonies must bee left off at once. And grant the latter, touching the limitation of Bishops to a particular Congregation; and it will necessarily inferre an unavoydable Separation from under the shadow of Diocesan-Episcopall-Government.

Besides, presently after, I received Letters from Mr. Goodwin, (and as I take it, before I left *England*) signifying, that as in our former conferences, wee had debated much of the negative part of the 2. Commandement, so hee had since meditated much, and seriously of the affirmative part of it, the positive institutions of Gods Divine Worship in opposition to humane inventions. Whereby I plainly discerned, (*England* as the State of it stood then) could not hold him long. It is an usuall thing with God, in times of Reformation to enlighten his Servants, though farre distant one from another, with the same beams of light of Divine Truth, which the world interpreteth, they have learned one from another: but indeed all from the same Spirit, who distributeth to every one, even as he will. But whether Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Goodwin received ought from me, I doe not know, sure I am, I have received much from them. The members of the  
Body



Body of Christ, are wont to minister supply one to another, according to the effectuall working of the Spirit of Grace in every part, to the mutuall edifying of themselves, and of the whole Body in Love, *Ephes. 4. 16.* And why should mutuall edification be made a matter of exprobration?

SECT. 7. *Of Cottons pretended sudden change to the passionate affecting of the New-English way, and the conversion of Mr. Goodwin to it.*

It seemeth to me a strange speech of the Disswader, and as far from Truth, as from ingenuity, "that as soon as I had tasted of the New English aire, I fell into a passionate affection with the Religion I found there.

For I knew their Religion before I came into New-England, and himself said above, that I came with a purpose to joyn with their Churches: Which argueth, *I did not fall into an affection to their Religion, by tasting of New-English Aire.* Nor hath his speech any reasonable construction, that with *tasting the new English aire, I soon fell into a passionate affection to their Religion, unlesse he take me for one of those children, who are tossed to and fro, and carryed about with every winde (or aire) of doctrine, Ephes. 4. 14.* Nor doe I yet understand why he should account the Religion of New-England another Religion, then that of England and Scotland and other Reformed Churches. Difference in some externall form of Church administrations is not wont in the writings of judicious Divines, to make up the note and name of a different Religion.

Neither can I imagine what should move him to say, that I "fell into a passionate affection with the Religion here. A passionate affection, is a strong, yea a violent, and inordinate affection. Did the Disswader ever reade, or hear me, to expresse any such violent or inordinate affection to the Religion here professed?

How Mr. Goodwin cometh to be accounted, and called of the Disswader, my Convert, I doe not know. It is not good to take liberty to use Scripture Idioms, but in Scripture sense. The Scripture speaketh not of conversion, but in the sense of Regeneration begun, or renewed: neither doth it stile one man, another mans Convert, but reserveth that solely and solidly to the Lord.

PART I. But I marvel why the Diffwader should say, "That M. Goodwin with little adoe was brought by my Letters from New-England to follow in this step of my progresse."

For first, I doe not remember that ever I wrote Letter to him from New-England about our way. And my Letter, which Mr. Baylie quoteth amongst his Testimonies (in G) was not written to him, but to a brother of mine (by Mariage) in Boston. Men that have been bred and brought up under a form of Doctrine, or Worship, or Government, and never saw ground to scruple it, they may with little adoe receive it, and embrace, and follow it: which, it may be, hath been the case of many thousands in England, and usually falleth out in setled Churches. But for M. Goodwin to take up a way not onely contrary to that wherein he hath been bred and brought up, but also discrepant from the judgments of so many godly learned Brethren, to the hazzard of his Ministry, and to the smothering of himself in a cloud of calumny and obloquy, beleeve it who will, I cannot easily beleeve it, that he took up such a way with very little adoe. I cannot but beleeve, it cost him many prayers, and sighs, and grones, much study, meditation, and conference, before he could satisfie himself in such a course; He being especially (as Mr. Baylie reporteth him) a man of a fine and dainty Spirit, (and therefore loving and tender:) to which sort of men, it is most unwelcome to offend Reverend Brethren by dissenting from them: and with whom it is most usuall to suspect their own judgments and wayes, when they goe alone. Luther was not accounted a man of a fine and dainty spirit, but of a more resolute and stern temper; and yet it was no small temptation even to him. "*Nunquid tu solus sapias? Quoties mihi palpitavit tremulum Cor, & reprehendens objectum fortissimum illud argumentum, Tu solus sapias? tóne errant universi?*" &c. Luther. in Prefat. de Abroganda Missa privata, &c.

Mr. Edwards his Antapology, I have not had the opportunity to come by, much lesse to read: and therefore I cannot tell what sense to make of those words which Mr. Baylie quoteth out of him (in H:) and wherein he saith, "Mr. Goodwin was bold to boast of me in terms beyond the bounds of moderation. Sure I am, Mr. Goodwin was not wont to be accounted, either a bold man, or a boaster. I have many years known him and his modesty, and abhorrency both from boldnesse and boasting: and if Mr. Baylie take up a report to the contrary from Mr. Edwards

(who



(who is but one witnesse, and it may be prejudiced ) I dare not follow Mr. Baylie herein, but must allow Mr. Goodwin the privilege of an Elder, against whom no accusation is to be received under two or three witnesses, 1 Tim. 5. 19. By what rule therefore Mr. Baylie receiveth this testimony against Mr. Goodwin, by one single witnesse, he may doe well to consider. Sure I am, it agreeth not with the Rules either of Congregationall or Clasticall Church-government.

But if Mr. Goodwin himself doe acknowledge such a speech, he knoweth best in what sense he spake it. For my self, I can own it onely in the same sense wherein Agur spake it of himself, Prov. 30. 2, 3. Surely I am more brutish then man; I have not the understanding of a man: I have not learned wisdom, nor know the holy.

The next testimony which Mr. Baylie quoteth out of Mr. Edwards to the same purpose, speaketh not of Mr. Goodwin, but of some other whom Mr. Edwards nameth not. But such Apocrypha testimonies with judicious and equall mindes, will never goe for authentical evidences. For the matter of the testimony it self, I conceive, the form of Church-government wherein we walk doth not differ in substance from that which Mr. Cartwright pleaded for. For two things chiefly there be wherein such as are for a Congregationall way, do seem to differ from Presbyterians: 1 In the matter of their Churches; they would have none allowed but visible Saints. 2 In the exercise of Church-censure, they leave that power to the Elders and Brethren of the same Church whereof the delinquent is a member. And in both these we find Mr. Cartwright's footsteps going plainly before us. For, 1. he taxeth in Bishop Whitgift, that speech of his; "The Church is full of Drunkards and Whoremongers, &c. Whereas Mr. Cartwright would not have scandalous persons born withall in the Church. And for the 2. he speaketh fully, in 1 Cor. 5. 4. "Forasmuch (saith he) as the Apostle reproveth the Church of Corinth, for that they had not (before his Letters) excommunicated the Incestuous; It is evident that the Ministers, and the rest of the Church there had power and authority thereto.

The next Testimony which Mr. Baylie alledgeth to prove Mr. Goodwin's boasting of this new light (as he calleth it) beyond the lines of moderation, is from the words of Mr. Williams in his examination of a letter of mine. His words be, "That some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, That even

PART I. " the Apostles Churches were not so pure as the New-English Churches.

But what is this to M. *Goodwin*? M. *Williams* speaketh of some of the most eminent in *New-England*, where Mr. *Goodwin* never came.

Besides, Mr. *Williams* doth not ascribe these words to any definite persons in *New-England*. And, as I said before, Apocrypha testimonies will never goe with equall mindes for authentick evidences. It is no new thing for Mr. *Williams* to mistake both himself and others, as hath appeared in the Reply both to his examination of that Letter, and to his *Bloody Tenent*. I never heard of any mans speech in *New-England* so hyperbolicall in the praise of *New-English* Churches, nor coming nearer to the words in hand, then the words reported of Mr. *Williams* himself. *That of all the Churches in the world, the Churches of New-England were the most pure; and of all New-English Churches, Salem (where of himself was Teacher) was the purest.* But such arrogant comparisons are as smoke in Gods nostrils, *Isay 65, 5.* the first part of vanity, and the first step to apostasie.

SECT. VIII. *Of Cottons pretended rashness in the change of his mind in latter and former times.*

Mr. *Baylie* proceedeth, and telleth us, " It had been happy for  
" *England*, that Mr. *Cotton* had taken longer time for delibera-  
" tion, before that change of his minde. He might have re-  
" membered his too precipitant rashness in former times, both to  
" receive, and to send abroad to the world such Tenents, whereto  
" after he had cause to repent.

I should think my self a most unhappy man, if *England* should be the lesse happy for my sake. Mr. *Baylie* doth either undervalue *England*, or overvalue me; if he think the happinesse or unhappinesse of *England* doth stand or fall upon any deliberate or precipitate act of mine.

But what think ye, was that rash and precipitate act of mine, which hath impeached the happinesse of *England*? It was, saith he, that change of my minde. What change was that? That which I mention in a Letter to some friends in *Boston*, " That if I  
" were with them again, I durst not take that liberty which some-  
" times I had done: I durst not joyn in Book-prayers: I durst  
" not now partake in the Sacrament with you: to wit, in respect  
" of



“ of those scandalous persons who communicate with you, and P A R T I.  
 “ will settle upon their Lees with the more security by your fel-  
 “ lowship with them.

I doe remember such a Letter I wrote; whether to one or moe in *Boston*, I remember not: Some say it is printed, but I know not, nor have I seen it: But I take the contents as Mr. Baylie reporteth them. And concerning them, I durst appeal even to Mr. Baylie himself, (though a stranger to me, and professing opposition) yet let him speak in good earnest, whether if I had taken longer time of deliberation even to this day, I should not have found just cause to have changed my minde, as I then did? Did I change my minde then to any other judgment or practice, then what the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and the Honorable Houses of Parliament have found (by the grace given to them) to be the Truth, and by Publick consent approved, and by Publick authority established? And doth he think, that it had been happy for *England*, if the Parliament and Assembly had neither of them changed their mindes, but still retained Book-service, and admitted scandalous persons to the Lords Table? How shall a poor Christian doe to satisfie his Brethren, that are not satisfied with their own judgment and wayes; if he be of the same judgment, or speak the same thing with them? verily, it is not good in Gods sight (but even an abomination to him) to keep a weight and a weight, a measure and a measure: to judge the same act in themselves to be weighty, which in others they judge to be light and rash. But the comfort is, the righteous God judgeth righteously, not according to acceptance of persons, but according to Truth; and accepteth the work of his own Spirit of Truth and Grace wheresoever he findeth it.

As for my too precipitant rashnesse in former times, which he he is pleased to remember me of, let him be pleased to forbear his censure a while, till I may give account thereof to Reverend Doctor *Twisse*. In the mean time let him know, that those Tenents which he saith I sent abroad to the world, whereof I had cause after to repent, I neither sent them abroad to the world, (but wrote them privately for the satisfaction of a neighbor Minister) nor do I yet know, whether I have cause to repent of them or no, it being neer thirty years ago since I wrote them, and many years ago since I read them.

But in the mean time, let Mr. Baylie be pleased to understand,

**PART I.** that I came hither in *September* in the year 1633. and that letter of mine which I sent to *Boston*, was dated (as himself quoteth) in *October*, 1635. And surely to write my Opinion of such a case, which I had considered of for the space of two whole years, doth not seem to be a rash and precipitate act: Nor can it be said with truth, "That I did incontinent perswade to the *New-English* way, as soon as I had tasted of the *New-English* aire. Two whole years and more, giveth a man more then a taste of *New-English* air; nor is that an act done incontinently, which is done upon two years deliberation.

**SECT. IX.** *Of Cottons pretended known failings; and Mr. Baylies pretended just cause to discover them to the world.*

Mr. *Baylie* proceedeth to discover my evident and known "failings, (as he calleth them) and he conceiveth neither piety "nor charity will hinder him to remark them. And why some thinks it should be some great and weighty cause, that himself, "who is wont (as he saith) to speak liberally to the praises of "men, who in his thoughts are much inferior to Mr. *Cotton*; should now give up himself to speak liberally to the dispraise and disgrace of him, whom yet in his entrance thereinto he seemeth to reckon amongst such as he calleth the dear children of God. Surely there is not the least child of God, but is ordained of God to be a vessel of honor; and to make any such a vessel of dishonor, what is it else but to endeavour to overthrow the eternall counsell of God? Nor is there the least child of God, but is a member of the Body of Christ; and the naturall members of the Body are wont to cover the nakednesse of such members as are most uncomely.

But Mr. *Baylie* is of opinion, as he saith, that when my gifts are "turned into snares, and made inducements to others to follow "me in my wandrings: then the discovery of my cleare weaknesse "may be a retractive to every Prudent man, & a caveat from God, "to beware of my wayes. Belike then it will follow, that though it be contrary both to the counsell and Commandement of God, and to the Communion of his Mysticall Body, to cast reproaches and dishonour upon the least of Gods servants: yet for a good end



end, to keep others from idolizing of them, it may be lawfull to  
 ransack all their former lives, and to hang them up in the sight of  
 the Sun, in chains of publike infamy, and obloquy. But I con-  
 fesse, I have not so learned Christ, as to allow my self to doe evill  
 that good may come of it. Nor doe I beleeeve it had been a way  
 of God, when the men of *Lystra* so highly Idolized *Paul* and  
*Barnabas*, as to account one of them to be *Jupiter*, and the other  
*Mercurius*, and to present them with Divine Worship, that then  
 some godly brother of *Pauls* company should have stept in a-  
 mongst them, and said, Sirs, why doe you these things? *Paul* hath  
 been a bloody persecutor of the Truths of God, a Blasphemer, a  
 scornfull oppressor: and *Barnabas* is a man subject to passion and  
 dissimulation, and both of them mortall men, subject to all kind  
 of sinfull corruption. Such zeale for the glory of God, I know  
 not by what rule of piety or charity, it could have been justified.  
 God hath sanctified other means, to wean his servants from ido-  
 lizing their Brethren. *Cornelius* idolized *Peter* even with Divine ho-  
 nour, *Act. 10. 25*. But did *Peter* therefore, or any of the o. Brethren  
 that went along with him, think it a just warrant, to proclaim to  
*Cornel.* Take heed what you do, this man whom you idolize hath  
 been a lyer, a perjured person, an horrible curser of himself, and re-  
 nouncer of the Lord *Jesus* before many witnesses? God forbid. Yea  
 of latter times, when the pregnant strength and glorious lustre of  
 many heroicall and excellent gifts of *Luther* had bin so idolized,  
 that many and great Nations followed him in some notorious  
 errors of his way: yet *Calvin* thought it no just ground, why  
*Bullinger* or other Divines should break forth against him, as he  
 had done (*atroci invectione*, to use *Calvins* word) against them, but  
 " sweetly professeth, *Sape dicere solitus sum, etiamsi me Diabolum*  
 " *vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut insignem Dei servum*  
 " *agnoscam: Calvin. Ep. 57. ad Bullingerum.* The want of this spi-  
 rit is *Fundi Anglicani calamitas*, the unhappinesse of *England* at  
 this day. But what if all these heresies or errors, which Mr. *Bay-*  
*lie* chargeth upon me, be but so many errors of himself, or of his  
 " witnesses? Will he still make it an act of piety, or charity to re-  
 " marke them (as he calleth it) for my evident and known fai-  
 lings, and follies: which are either no failings, nor follies at all, or  
 none of mine?

## PART I.

Let us examine the particulars.

SECT. X. of Cottons *Prelaticall Tenents*.

“ 1. He instanceth in the Errors of my education, and my long continuance in them: sundry of them (as he saith) I confesse stuck by me all the time of my abode in England.

And this he proveth from the testimony of mine own Letter (above mentioned) from *New-England* to my friends at *Boston*; “ October 5. 1635. As joyning in Book-prayers and fellowship at the Lords Table with scandalous Communicants. It was but in the next foregoing Page, (pag. 56. of Mr. Baylie's Book) wherein he maketh it the unhappinesse of *England*, that I changed my minde from those very Tenents, which he now calleth the Errors of my education, and Prelaticall Tenents? But if they be Errors, why doth he tax me for changing from them? And why doth he say, “ It had been happy for *England*, if Mr. Cotton had taken longer time, before he had changed his minde from such Tenents? Let Mr. Baylie choose which he will take, either these are no Errors nor Prelaticall Tenents; or if they were, it was no Error in me, nor unhappinesse to *England* that I changed from them. A considerate and equall minde should not be so far transported *studii partium*; nor so soon forget it self, as to censure it in one Page for an unhappy change from such Tenents, which in the next Page he noteth for Erroneous and Prelaticall Tenents.

SECT. XI. of Cottons *pretended Pelagianism and Arminian Errors*.

2. My next Error, he calleth, “ My more dangerous fall into the gulf of Pelagianism, some of the Arminian Errors. I did expect, he would have named what those Pelagian or Arminian Errors had been. But for that, he referreth me to the Antapology, a Book which I doe not know that ever I have seen: Sure I am, I have often assayed to get, but cannot yet procure it. The testimony which Mr Baylie quoteth out of it, referreth me to the Preface of Dr. Twisse his Answer. I have read his Preface, wherein I finde no particular Tenents of mine expressed as Erroneous. But this testimony he is pleased to give me, (which might



might somewhat allay the harshness of the scandall of my fall PART I.  
 into the gulf of Pelagianism and Arminianism:) "Mr. Cotton  
 " (saith he) as I have heard, is very sound and orthodox in the  
 " Point of Election: and cometh to this work with a graci-  
 " ous intent to clear the Doctrine of Predestination, (and that,  
 " in the particular of Reprobation) from such harsh consequen-  
 " ces as seemeth to be derived from thence.

Dr. Twisse doth indeed truly expresse that which (through  
 grace) was my true intent, to clear the Orthodox Doctrine of  
 Predelstination from such harsh consequences, as are wonted to  
 be derived from absolute Reprobation. For when I was first  
 called to *Boston* in *Lincoln-shire*, so it was, that Mr. Doctor *Baron*,  
 son of Dr. *Baron*, (the Divinity Reader at *Cambridge*) who in his  
 Lectures there, first broched that which was then called Luth-  
 eranism, since Arminianism:) this Dr. *Baron*, I say, had leavened  
 many of the chief men of the Town with Arminianism; as be-  
 ing indeed himself learned, acute, plausible in discourse, and fit  
 to insinuate into the hearts of his Neighbors. And though he  
 was a Physitian by profession, (and of good skill in that art:)  
 yet he spent the greatest strength of his studies in clearing and  
 promoting the Arminian Tenents. Whence it came to passe,  
 that in all the great Feasts of the Town, the chiefest Discourse at  
 Table did ordinarily fall upon Arminian Points, to the great  
 offence of the Godly Ministers both in *Boston*, and Neighbor-  
 Towns. I coming amongst them a yong man, (as having gone  
 to *Cambridge* in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> year of my age, and  
 tarrying there not above 14 years in all, before I was sent for to  
*Boston*;) I thought it a part both of modesty and prudence, not  
 to speak much to the Points, at the first, amongst Strangers and  
 Ancients: untill afterwards, after hearing of many Discourses  
 in Publick meetings, and much private conference with the Do-  
 ctor, I had learned at length where all the great strength of the  
 Doctor lay. And then observing (by the helpe of Christ) how to  
 avoid such expressions, as gave him any advantage in the expres-  
 sions of others, I then began publicly to Preach, and in private  
 Meetings to defend the Doctrine of Gods eternall Election be-  
 fore all foresight of good or evil in the Creature: and the Redem-  
 ption (*ex gratia*) only of the Elect: the effectuall vocation of a Sin-  
 ner *per irresistibilem gratie vim*, without all respect of the prepara-  
 tions of Free will: And finally, the impossibility of the fall of a sin-

PART I. cere Beleever either totally or finally from the estate of grace. Hereupon, when the Doctor had objected many things, and heard my answers to those scruples which he was wont most plausibly to urge; presently after, our publick Feasts and neighborly meetings, were silent from all further debates about Predestination, or any of the Points which depend thereon, and all matters of Religion were carryed on calmly and peaceably. Inasmuch, that when God opened mine eyes to see the sin of conformity, (which was soon after;) my neglect of conformity was at first tolerated without disturbance; and at length embraced in practise by the chief and greatest part of the Town. But so it fell out, that a neighbor Minister dwelling about 16 miles off (and my very loving friend) hearing of some Answers of mine tending to clear the Doctrine of Reprobation against the exceptions of Dr. *Baron*, he seemed not to be satisfied therewith, but wrote to me seven or eight Questions about the same; whereto I willingly gave him such Answers as then came to hand, and that soon after the receipt of his Questions, which is now long since, about 30 years agoe. Little did I think, that a private Letter of mine written to a very friend, should ever have been divulged abroad. But it seemeth some got Copies of it; and in proceſse of time, one Copy multiplyed another, till at length it came to Dr. *Twiſſe* his hand. None of his Writings against *Arminius* or his followers had been then published: but he was then (by the report which went of him) of such high esteem with me, as I wrote him a thankfull Letter for the pains I heard he had taken in examining my Answer to Mr. *Pells* Queries: (for that was the neighbor Ministers name who sent them to me;) and desired from him leave to see the copy of his Answer. He lovingly granted it, onely with desire after a time to return his *αὐτὴν ἀποδοῖν*: yet after that having got himself another Copy, he sent me word, he was content I should keep his. Whereupon I took it with me to *New-England*; but since my coming hither have found such constant diversion from such Contemplative Controversies; to attend Practicall, that I have not to this day been able to perpend the Doctors Answer, which I see is now Printed: I hope, God will give me opportunity ere long (after two or three other Treatises perused) to consider of this his labor of Love. I bless the Lord, who hath taught me to be willing to be taught of a farre meaner Disciple then such a Doctor, whose Scholasticall acute-



acutenesse, pregnancy of wit, solidity of judgment, and dexterity of argument, all Orthodox Divines doe highly honor, and whom all Arminians and Jesuites doe fall down before with silence. God forbid I should shut mine eys against any light brought to me by him. Onely I desire I may not be condemned as a Pelagian or Arminian, before I be heard, or be found more slow in retracting an Error, then in discerning it. PART I.

## SECT. XII. of Cottons pretended Montanism.

3. The next Error which Mr. Baylie is pleased to threape upon me is my old Montanism, which he saith, he hath heard from some gracious Ministers; and wherein some think I remain to this day.

Who those gracious Ministers are from whom he heard this, he doth not mention; nor what this old Montanism of mine should be, he doth not expresse. But thus I must stand guilty in Mr. Baylie's judgment, and by his relation, in the judgment of all men that give credit to his testimony, of an horrible Heresie, but I must not know what; and by the accusation of gracious Ministers, but I must not know whom.

*Augustine* recordeth (in his Catalogue of Heresies) Chap. 26. the Heresies of *Montanus* to be: " 1. That *Montanus* and his two harlot-Prophetesses, *Prisca* and *Maximilla*, had received the Holy-Ghost not in part, as the Apostles, but without measure. 2 Second-mariages they condemn as whoredome. 3 The Bread in the Lords-Supper, they mingle with the blood of a yearling Infant.

*Damianus* in his Comment upon that Book of *Augustine*, addeth other Heresies, out of other Authors: as for a 4. That *Montanus* himself was the Comforter promised to the Apostles. 5 That incestuous copulations were not to be disallowed. 6 That Enthusiasms and Revelations were rather to be followed then the Word of God. 7 That they confounded the Persons in Trinity, as did the Sabellians and Patropassiani.

Now amongst all these Montanistick Tenents, I would intreat Mr. Baylie to tell me (in faithfulness) which of them it is he chargeth upon me, and which he calleth, my old Montanism, wherein some think I do remain to this day.

PART I. Or if he say, (as he doth) that he hath heard of my old Montanism, by some gracious Ministers, let him be pleased to intreat them to declare to me those Points of Montanism, which they know by me, or suspect in me. Otherwise I shall conceive, though they may be gracious Ministers that so told him, yet it was no part of their graciousnesse so to speak; a speech that neither favored of Truth, nor love, nor wisdom, nor faithfulness.

But in perusing the sequel of this Discourse, I finde a passage, which maketh me suspect; what Tenent of Montanism it is which he aimeth at, in Page 61. speaking of the vilenesse of the errors of the members of our Churches; "They did (saith he) avow openly, The personall inhabitation of the Spirit in all the godly; his immediate Revelations without the Word, and these as infallible as the Scripture it self. And this (saith he) is the vilest Montanism.

These two latter Tenents, immediate Revelations without the Word, and them as infallible as the Scripture it self, I willingly confesse they are vile Montanism; though I would not say (as he doth) the vilest. For the vilest is, to hold *Montanus* himself to be the Holy-Ghost, or to have received the Holy-Ghost in a more full measure then the Apostles themselves.

But for the first of these Tenents, touching the Personall Inhabitation of the Holy-Ghost in the godly, it may further be considered before it be condemned. Personall Inhabitation may be taken in a double sense: For, 1 It may hold forth no more but this, the indwelling not onely of the Gifts of the Holy-Ghost, but of his Person also in the Regenerate. Or 2. it may hold forth further, the indwelling of the Person of the Holy-Ghost in the Regenerate, so farre forth as to make us one Person with himself, or to communicate with us some Personall propriety of his own.

In this latter sense Mr. Baylie may well be allowed to call it, vile Montanism: for the Errors are vile, and also wrapt up in *Montanus* his Tenents: But for the former, the indwelling not onely of the Gifts, but of the Person also of the Holy-Ghost in the Regenerate, I must professe, I neither beleieve the Tenent to be vile nor Montanism. Not Montanism, for amongst all the Errors of *Montanus* or his followers, I never read this imputed to them, by such as have been the most diligent Recorders and Refuters.



Refuters of ancient Heresies. Neither *Augustine*, nor *Epiphanius* P A R T I.  
before him, nor *Daneu* after him, did ever father this Tenent up-  
on the Montanists. Nor is the Tenent vile or erroneous, but an  
holy Truth of God delivered to us from the Word of Truth. As  
may appear,

1. From the testimony of the Lord Jesus, *Joh. 14. 16, 17, 26.*  
with *Joh. 15. 26.* The argument standeth thus, *The Comforter*  
*which proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne; even the Spirit of*  
*Truth, he dwelleth in the Disciples of Christ Jesus.*

The Comforter which proceedeth from the Father & the Son,  
even the Spirit of Truth, is the Person of the Holy-Ghost himself.

Therefore the Person of the Holy-Ghost himself dwelleth in  
the Disciples of Christ Jesus.

2. From the testimony of the Apostle *Paul*, *2 Tim. 1. 14.*  
*That Good thing (saith he) which is committed to thee, keep, by the*  
*Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us.* That Good thing is fitly under-  
stood by our best Interpreters, *Calvin* and *Beza*, to be, not onely  
the sound Doctrine of the Gospel, and his Ministeriall Office,  
but also the excellent gifts of the Spirit of Grace furnishing him  
for discharge of his Office, and dispensation of the Gospel.  
Whence the Argument holdeth thus;

The Holy-Ghost that keepeth the good gifts of Grace in us,  
dwelleth in us.

The Holy-Ghost that keepeth the good gifts of Grace in us, is  
not the gifts, but the person of the Holy-Ghost distinguished  
from them:

Therefore it is the Person of the Holy-Ghost, and not his gifts  
onely that dwelleth in us.

3. From another testimony of *Paul*, *Rom. 8. 11.* *If the Spirit*  
*of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you; he that*  
*raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortall bo-*  
*dies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* Whence the Argument ari-  
seth thus,

The Spirit that dwelleth in us, is the Spirit that raised Christ  
from the dead, and shall also quicken our mortall bodies;

But it is not the Gifts and Graces of the Spirit, but the Person  
of the Spirit himself that raised up Christ from the dead, and shall  
quicken our mortall bodies:

Therefore it is the Person of the Spirit that dwelleth in us.

It was not the Gifts and Graces of the Spirit of Christ him-  
self,

**PART I.** self, much lesse our Gifts and Graces that did raise up Christ from the dead. Not the Gifts and Graces of Christ himself, for they were but created. And it was an act farre above all created power, to raise up Christ from the dead. Much lesse were they our Gifts and Graces that raised him up; for ours, are not onely created, but imperfect, and which is more, they were not then in Being, when God raised up Christ from the dead.

To these three Divine Testimonies (which are the ground of my faith in this point) let me adde one humane Testimony of a learned Divine, who was never tainted, nor taxed with Montanism, I meane Zanchius, de Tribus Elohim Parte altera, lib. 4. cap. 1. His testimony cometh in thus: "*Præter alia argumenta, quibus confirmavimus Spiritum Sanctum verum esse Deum, illud etiam non fuit minimum, quod inde deduximus, quia Fideles vocantur. Templum Spiritus Sancti, 1 Cor. 6. 19. and 3. 16.*"

Against this argument from the proof of the God-head of the Holy-Ghost, Ochinus gave this answer amongst others: "*Dei nobis concessa, hoc eodem nomine notari: sed non tertium suppositum, hoc est personam, a Patre & Filio distinctam. &c.*"

To this Zanchius replyeth: "*Non potest Spiritus Ochinianus nisi impudenter inficiari, quin Spiritus Sanctus, hoc est, tertia hæc persona (quæ etiam Spiritus Dei, & virtus Dei appellatur) habitet in Sanctis hominibus, & quin illi sint hujus Templum, qui enim in eis habitat, iudicio, & voluntate præditus est, & loquitur; Spiritus Patris vestri (inquit Christus) loquitur in vobis, Matth. 10. 20. Spiritus autem Sanctus appellatur ipse Spiritus Dei, & Spiritus Christi. Spiritus igitur Sanctus, hoc est tertia Persona, habitat in Sanctis. Quod vero ait Spiritus Ochinianus, Non posse tertiam Personam habitare in Sanctis, quin ibi etiam habitent reliquæ, dictum est bene. Nam etiam Christus dixit, Ego & Pater ad eum veniemus, & mansionem apud eum faciemus, Ioh. 14. 23. Hoc vero ideo fit, quoniam omnes sunt unæ & eadem essentia, &c.*"

### SECT. 13. Of Cottons pretended Antinomianisme and Familisme.

The Disswader proceedeth to point at (as hee calleth it) another more dangerous fall of mine, which in his Margent, he nameth Mr. Cottons Antinomianisme, and Familisme: and within a few lines, his wandring into the horrible Errors of  
 " the



“ the Antinomians, and Familists, with his dear friend Ms. *Hutchinson*, so far that he came to a resolution to side with her, and to Separate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as legall Synagogues. PART I.

If all this charge were true (as indeed, in all parts of it, it is false:) yet the errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme, then stirring in the Countrey, and condemned in the Synod at *New-Towne*, were not more dangerous, then the old Montanisme. I confesse, the Familisme afterwards broached by Mr. *Garton*, and his followers, the same which *Calvin* in his *Opuscula* refuteth (in his *Instructio adversus Libertinos*) as *Calvin* judgeth it more dangerous then Popery, so I conceive it to be as dangerous as Montanisme, though I cannot say more dangerous: for both of them overthrow all principles & foundations of Christian Religion. But for the making good of this charge upon me, let Mr. *Baylie* be pleased to instance in those horrible errors either of Antinomianisme or Familisme, whereunto I either wandred or fell: Or let him make it appeare “ that I came to such a Resolution, to side “ with my dear friend Ms. *Hutchinson*, and to separate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as legall Synagogues.

Let us examine his proofes and Testimonies.

“ 1. The first is from the parties themselves, the Followers of Ms. *Hutchinson*, who (saith he) boast of Mr. *Cotton* for their Master and Patron.

And it is true, they professed so: just as *Wightman* who was burnt at *Lichfield* for Montanisme, (avouching himself to be the Holy Ghost) professed he had received all his grounds from Mr. *Hildersam*. And I confesse my self, being naturally (I thank God) not suspicious, hearing no more of their Tenents from them, then what seemed to mee Orthodoxall, I beleaved, they had been far off from such grosse errors, as were bruited of them. But when some of my fellow-Brethren (the Elders of Neighbour Churches) advertised me of the evill report that went abroad of their corrupt Tenents, I desired to know what the Tenents were, which were corrupt, and which they had vented here and there, in my name. They mentioned some to mee, some of those which are published in the short story of that Subject: and named also to mee the persons, who had uttered the same. I therefore dealt with Mrs. *Hutchinson* and others of them, declaring to them the erroneousnesse of those Tenents, and the injury done to my self in

**PART I.** in fathering them upon mee. Both hee, and they utterly denied, that they held such Tenents, or that they had fathered them upon mee. I returned their Answer to the Elders, who had spoken to mee of them: and I inquired, if any two of them, or of their Neighbours could bear witness in this case. They answered me, they had but one witness of any corrupt Tenent: and that one, loth to be known to bee an accuser of them. I replied, what course would you then advise mee to take? They answered, that I could not indeed bring the matter to the Church for want of witnesses: But the best way would bee, publikely and privately to bear witness against such errors. I tooke their counsell, and bare witness against the errors complained of, as well publikely as privately. Which when some Elders and Brethren heard, meeting soon after with some of these Opinionists: "Loe, say they, now wee have heard your Teacher bearing witness openly against those very points, which you falsely father on him. No matter (say the other) what you heare him say in publick: we know what hee saith to us in private. This answer bred in some of my Brethren and friends, a jealousy, that my selfe was a secret fomentor of this spirit of Familisme, if not leavened my self that way. Whereupon sundry Elders and Brethren perceiving these Errors to spread, secretly and closely, they consulted among themselves, and with me what I thought of a Synod, whether it might bee of use in such a case for the clearing of these Points, and the allaying of the jealousies and differences in the Countrey? I answered, yea. Thereupon, with consent of the Magistrates, a time, and place was appointed for a Synodical meeting, and sundry Elders were sent for, from other jurisdictions, and messengers from all the Churches in the Countrey to assist in this worke.

Against which time three things principally were attended for preparation.

1. A Solemne Fast kept in all the Churches: in which it fell out, that Mr. *Wheleswrights* Sermon was apprehended to give too much encouragement to the Opinionists. And himself hath since confessed, that being but new come into the Countrey, having but little acquaintance but with his kindred, and their friends, (who were many of them leavened this way) he spake some things, which if he had before discerned their Familisme, he would not have expressed himself as he did.

The



The 2. thing attended to, for preparation to the Synod, was, PART I.  
the gathering up of all the corrupt and offensive Opinions that were scattered up and down the Countrey, and to commend them to Publique Disquisition in the Synod: that howsoever, the Authours of them were loth to owne them publikely, yet at least, they might see them publikely tryed, confuted, and condemned. The which was accordingly done in the Synod: and the Opinions with their Confutations are since printed in the short story, whence Mr. Baylie fetcheth many Testimonies.

The 3. thing thought needfull for preparation to the Synod, was, to gather out of my Sermons to the people, and my conferences (in word and writing) with the Elders, all such opinions of mine as were conceived by some, to bee erroneous: and having gathered them together, to inquire in a brotherly conference with mee, how far I would own them, or how I did understand them, that so the true state of the questions in difference might appeare; and withall, if there were any aguish distemper, or disaffection growen in any of our spirits amongst our selves, it might be healed in a private brotherly way, and mutuall satisfaction given and taken on all hands. Accordingly we had such a meeting in private; wherein five questions were propounded unto mee, with desire of my plaine and explicite answer to the same: which also upon their demand, I gave suddenly.

Quest. i.

*“ Whether our Union with Christ be compleat before and without Faith?*

Where I gave this answer, which was taken in writing: “Not without, nor before the habit (or gift) of Faith, but before the act of Faith; that is, not before Christ hath wrought Faith in us (for in uniting himself to us, he worketh Faith in us:) yet in order of nature, before our faith doth put forth it self to lay hold on him.

For indeed I looked at Union with Christ, as equipollent to Regeneration. And looke as in Generation we are in a passive way united to Adam: so in Regeneration wee are united to Christ. And as the soule *habet se mere passive* (in the judgement of our best Divines) in Regeneration, so also in union, and by the judgment of Christ himself, who saith,

**PART I.** without Christ abiding in us (and so united to us) we can doe nothing, not bring forth any spiritual fruit at all: much lesse can we before union with Christ, unite our selves to Christ, which is the greatest and most spirituall fruit of all. I was not ignorant, that some of the Schoolmen (even some Dominicans) & out of them *Ferius*, and some others, (even of judicious Protestants) are of opinion, that Christ doth give the Soule by the Almighty power of the *auxilium efficax* of his Spirit, to put forth an act of Faith, to lay hold on Christ, before hee give them a habit or gift of Faith. But I could not understand how this could stand with Christs Word, *That without Christ abiding in us, wee can doe nothing.* Which argueth, no spirituall act can be done by us without Christ habitually permanent in us. And as acute and judicious *Baynes* saith, (in *Ephes. 1.*) This were to give a man to see, without an eye to see withall: which though God can doe by his Almighty power, yet as the Philosopher said of *Entia*: so it may be much more said of *Miracula* (which are extraordinary *Entia*) *Miracula sine necessitate non sunt multiplicanda.*

### QUEST. II.

*Whether Faith be an instrumentall cause in applying Christs righteousness to our Justification.*

Whereto I answered,

“ Faith is an instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ applied to us of God, for our Justification: but not properly an instrumentall cause.

Where I understood Instrument, as the Hebrews doe, *כלי* which they indifferently put for Instrument, or Vessell: For Faith emptying the soule of all confidence in its own righteousness, is a fit vessell or instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ offered and imputed; and so I tooke Faith rather as a fit disposition of the subject to be justified, then as a proper instrumentall cause of our justification: like the empty vessels of the Prophets widow, which whilst they were empty, the oyle ran forth into them (the empty vessels being fit to receive it:) But yet the empty vessels were not properly instrumentall causes of the running forth of the Oyle, but onely fit instruments to receive it.



QUEST. 3.

*Whether the Spirit of God in evidencing our Justification doth beare witness in an absolute promise of free Grace, without Qualification, or condition.*

My answer was,

“ The Spirit in evidencing our Justification doth bear witness either in an absolute promise, or in a conditionall: in case, the condition bee understood, or applyed absolutely, not attending the condition as the ground or cause of the assurance, but as the effect and consequence of it: or ( as I might have added, as before ) as a fit disposition of the subject to receive it.

For I conceived, though the Spirit may evidence to us our Justification in a Qualification or condition: yet sometime the condition is not there before the promise, but freely given with the promise, as *Acts* 10. 43, 44. where though *Cornelius* and his household were beleevers, yet many of his kindred and friends were not: who yet upon hearing the promise of Remission (or Justification) unto Faith, they received both Faith and Justification, and the evidence of both, all together: as did also the Jailor in the like sort, *Acts* 16. 31. Sometime, though the Qualification or condition bee there before, and the Spirit doe bear witness to our Justification in that condition: yet the condition is not the cause either of justification, or of the evidence of it, as in *Luke* 7. 47. Christ beareth evident witness of the Remission or Justification of *Mary Magdalen*, in her love to him. Neverthelesse her love was not the cause, neither of her Justification, nor of the assurance of it, but an effect of both. For shee expressed those evidences of her love to Christ, because her sins were forgiven her, and because her self was assured of the forgivenesse of them.

Sometimes the Qualification or condition mentioned in the promise, though it bee in the soule before, yet it is not evident there before. And then the evidence of Justification springeth not from the condition, but from the Grace of the promise, clearing and evidencing both the condition and the Justification. Thus Christ applyeth himselfe by his Spirit, to bruised Reeds, or broken hearts. *Isa* 57. 15.

Lastly, if Faith it self bee meant to be the saving qualifica-

**PART I.** tion or condition, and be also found, and that evidently in the soul to whom the Promise of Justification is made; yet the Spirit may bear witness in the Promise of Grace to the Justification of such a soul, without either the word expressing the Condition in that place, or the soul attending the Condition at that time: As when Christ said to the Woman, *Luk. 7. 48. Thy sinnes are forgiven thee*, He neither mentioneth her Faith in that word, nor doth it appear, that she did reflect upon her Faith in receiving that Promise at that time. Many an Israelite stung by the fiery Serpents in the wilderness, might look up to the brazen Serpent for healing, and yet at that time not look to their eye, nor think upon their eye by which they looked. And though afterwards Christ doe make express mention of the womans Faith, to which he attributeth her salvation, (*Woman*, saith he, *thy Faith hath saved thee*, ver. 50.) Neverthelesse, that Faith, though it be an Evidence of Assurance in the subject Person of his Justification: yet it is also an Effect or Consequence of the Evidence and Assurance of the Object, that is, of the grace and mercy of God clearly revealed and applyed to the soul in the Promise, even to the begetting of Faith it self, and the Assurance of it. As when Christ did promise (by the Ministry of *Paul*) salvation to the Jaylor in Beleeving; the Grace of Christ clearly revealed and applyed in the Promise did beget Faith in the Jaylor, and the Assurance of Faith. And so his Faith, and the Assurance of it was an Effect and Consequence of the Grace and Assurance of it offered to him in the Promise. Faith though it be an Evidence of things not seen (with bodily eyes) yet it is the effect of a former Evidence, even of the light of Gods Countenance shining forth through Christ in the Promise of Grace upon the soul, to the begetting of Faith, and the assurance of it. But howsoever, Faith being always of a self humbling efficacy, it is a fit disposition of the subject to receive comfort and assurance, *1/a. 57. 15.*

Calvin defineth Faith to be *Divine ergo nos benevolentia firmam certamque cognitionem, que gratuite in Christo Promissionis veritate fundatur, per Spiritum Sanctum & revelatur mentibus nostris & cordibus obfirmatur. Institut. 1.3. c. 2. Sect. 7.* Now when he cometh to expound what he meaneth by the free promise of grace in Christ, upon which this knowledge (or assurance) of Faith



Faith is founded, he maketh it to be, not conditionall. And PART I.

he giveth this reason, *“ Quoniam (saith he) Conditionalis Promissio quâ ad opera nostra remittimur, non aliter vitam promittit, quàm si perspicimus esse in nobis sitam. Ergo, nisi Fidem tremere, ac vacillare volumus, illam Salutis Promissione sulciamus oportet, quæ à Domino ulterò ac liberaliter, potiusque misericors nostra quàm dignitatis respectu offeratur; ibidem Sict. 29.*

But what was the occasion of this Question from any speech or writing of mine, I cannot call to minde, unlesse it were concerning the First evidence of justification, which is the purport of the next Question. For otherwise, if Faith and Assurance be first founded and bottomed upon a Promise of Free-grace, I never doubted, but that Sanctification or Faith, (any saving qualification) may be, (and is by the help of the Spirit) a clear and certain Evidence of Justification. So that put the Question *in terminis*,

“ Whether the Spirit of God in Evidencing our Justification doth bear witness in an absolute Promise of Free-Grace, without qualification or condition?

I should answer plainly and roundly, The Spirit doth Evidence our Justification both wayes, sometime in an absolute Promise, sometime in a conditionall.

#### QUEST. 4.

*Whether some Saving Qualification may be a first Evidence of Justification?*

Hereto I answered,

“ A man may have an argument from thence, (yea, I doubt not a firm and strong argument) but not a first Evidence.

For I conceived, Faith it self, which is an evidence of things not seen, and the first saving Qualification that doth Evidence Justification, is it self founded upon a former evidence, even the Free-grace of God in Christ, revealed in the promise of Grace, and applyed to the soul effectually by the Spirit, of grace both in our effectuall Calling (even to the begetting of Faith) and in our Justification. Accordingly, the Apostle reckoning the Evidences that bear witness of our life in Christ, giveth the first place to the Spirit, before any fruit of the Spirit; There are three (saith he) that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, 1. *Job. 5. 8.* First,

**PART I.** the Spirit, to wit, of illumination and drawing, whereby he revealeth Christ to us, and worketh Faith in us, 2 Cor. 4. 6. *Ephes. 1. 17, 18. Joh. 6. 44, 45.* Secondly, the water of Sanctification. And thirdly, the Blood of atonement (or pacification) pacifying the conscience.

*Calvin* also is of the same judgment in this Question, in 2 Pet. 1. 10. & in 1 Joh. 3. 14. & 19.

And *Zanchy* likewise doth at large dispute this Question and conclude it against Dr. *Marbachius* in his *Miscellanies*, in that part of it entituled, *Disceptatio inter duos Theologos*, from pag. 598. to pag. 605. Editionis in quarto.

### QUEST. 5.

*Whether Christ and his benefits be dispensed in a Covenant of Works?*

Whereunto my answer was,

“ Christ is dispensed to the Elect in a Covenant of Grace: to others he may be dispensed in some sort, (to wit, in a taste of him) either in a Covenant of works, or in a Covenant of grace legally applied.

To give an hint of the reason of mine answer. The Covenant on Mount *Sinai*, (wherein Christ was dispensed in sacrifices and ceremonies) though to the faithfull seed of *Abraham* it was a Covenant of Grace, (wherein they saw Christ and his benefits graciously dispensed to them, *Psal. 51, 7.*) yet to the carnall seed, it seemed to me to be a Covenant of Works, to prepare them for the saving benefits of that Covenant of Grace which was formerly given to *Abraham* and his seed, (but neglected by them in *Egypt*) and afterwards renewed in the plains of *Moab*, *Deut. chap. 29. & Chap. 30.* And so *Paul* maketh that Covenant on Mount *Sinai*, to be expressly a different Covenant from that of grace, to wit, a Covenant gendring unto bondage, *Gal. 4. 24, 25.* and the other Covenant (*Deut. 30.*) to be of Grace, *Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8.* *Moses* also himself, having recited the Covenant on Mount *Sinai* (*Deut. 5.*) he maketh the observation of all the Commandements to be the righteounesse of the people, *Deut. 6. 25.* and their life, *Levit. 18. 4.* And so *Paul* understandeth him, *Rom. 10. 5. Gal. 3. 12.* Now that Covenant which gendret unto bondage, and holdeth forth righteounesse and life upon obedience



enceto all the Commandements, it is a Covenant of Works.

And so have the chiefest Germane Divines, as well as *Piscator*, and *Polanus*, taken the Covenant on Mount Sinai to bee a covenant of Works. See *Piscator*, Ezek. 16. *Observat. ultima in vers.* 60. 62. & *Polanus ibidem*.

How far there arose any consent or dissent about these questions, between my Fellow-Brethren (the Elders of these churches) & myself, it is not materiall now to particularize; it is enough, that upon our clear understanding of one anothers mindes & judgments, and upon the due proceeding of our Church against convicted notorious errors and scandalls, wee have ever since (by the Grace of Christ) much amiable and comfortable Communion together in al brotherly kindness. But this short relation may suffice.

To let Mr. *Baylie* know, and all them that shall read his Book, to consider, what slender "ground hee had to speak of my wandering into the horrible Errors of the Antinomians, and Familists, and siding therein with Mistris *Hutchinson*, and therein "to tell the world of a more dangerous fall of mine, then that "of Montanisme: And withall to clear up to him, what little "ground Mistris *Hutchinson* had, to pretend, that shee was of "Mr. *Cottons* judgement in all things: that so Mr. *Baylie* may likewise observe what ground himself had to take up such a report against me, upon her testimony. Which yet will the more fully appeare, if I proceed to relate a principall passage or two in the Synod, after it was assembled. It was the first act of the Synod (after Prayer and choice of Moderators) to propound the severall offensive opinions, which had been dispersed up and downe in the Countrey, and briefly to argue them, and bear witnesse against them. The opinions were about fourescore (more or lesse) which being orderly propounded and argued against, I perceived that some of the Members & Messengers of our Church, were ready to rise up, and plead in defence of sundry corrupt Opinions, which I verily thought had been far from them, especially such as concerned union with Christ before Faith, Iustification without Faith, inherent righteousness, and evidencing a good estate by it at all, first or last. Whereupon as soon as I could get liberty of speech with them, "Brethren (said I) if you be of that judgment, which "you plead for, all these Bastardly Opinions, which are justly "offensive to the Churches, will be fathered upon *Boston*. They answered me again, "Though they were not clear for those Opi-

PART I. " nions, which they spake for, yet neither were they clear for  
 " condemning of them, considering the tenderneſſe of ſome  
 " Conſciences: I replied, if they were doubtfull of the Errone-  
 " ouſneſſe and danger of ſuch Opinions, they ſhould have dealt  
 " openly with the Church at home, when they were choſen Mes-  
 " ſengers, and ſhould have declared their judgments before the  
 " Church: as knowing ſuch points amongſt others were likely to  
 " come into agitation in the Synod: whereas now looke what  
 " they ſpeak, it is conceived by the whole Countrey to be the  
 " judgment of our Church.

Hereupon ſome of the Meſſengers of our Church withdrew  
 themſelves, and appeared no more in the Synod, ſuch as did ap-  
 pear, did much what forbear any proſecution of argument in  
 ſuch cauſes. But that (to my remembrance) was the firſt time of  
 my diſcerning a real and broad difference, between the judgments  
 of our Brethren (who leaned to Miſtris *Hutchinson*) and my ſelf.  
 And therefore to clear my ſelf, and the ſounder Members of our  
 Church from partaking in thoſe manifold errors there preſented,  
 I declared my judgment openly before all the aſſembly, " That I  
 " eſteemed ſome of the Opinions, to be blaſphemous: ſome of  
 " them, hereticall: many of them, Erroneous: and almoſt all of  
 " them, incommodiouſly expreſſed: as intending to except  
 " thoſe chiefly, wherein I had declared mine own opinion, as  
 " before.

But becauſe I would deale openly and ingenuouſly with Mr.  
*Baylie*, and hide nothing from him, that might fortify his accuſa-  
 tion againſt me, there was ſome colour of my leaning to one An-  
 tinomian Tenent in one day of the Synod. For though in an-  
 ſwer to the queſtions of the Elders before the Synod, I had affirm-  
 ed Faith to be an inſtrument for the receiving the righteouſneſſe  
 of Chriſt to our juſtification: yet for as much as ſome great Di-  
 vines had let fall ſome expreſſions, that ſeemed to favour the  
 Antinomian party in a contrary Tenent, I was deſirous to hear  
 that Point a little further ventilated, and to ſee the difficulties a  
 little more fully cleared. Dr. *Twiſſe* (not ſuſpected for an Anti-  
 nomian, much leſſe for a Familist) in his *vindicie gratie, de electione*,  
*Parte 2. Section. 25. Numero 5.* bringeth in *Arminius*, arguing a-  
 gainſt Mr. *Perkins*, thus: " The righteouſneſſe of Chriſt wrought  
 " or performed, is not ours, as wrought or performed, but as by  
 Faith imputed to us. Whereto the Dr. answereth, Before Faith,  
 this



“ this Righteousnesse of Christ was ours, and in the intention **PART I.**  
 “ of God the Father, and of Christ our Mediator, was wrought  
 “ for us. And because it is wrought for us, therefore God in his  
 “ own time will give it us, and Grace of every kind, even Faith  
 “ itself amongst the rest. But Faith coming, (which the Holy  
 “ Ghost kindleth in our hearts) then at length this love of God to  
 “ us in Christ, is acknowledged & perceived. Whence it is, that the  
 “ Righteousnesse of Christ is said to be imputed to us, by Faith,  
 “ because it is not discerned to be imputed to us, but by Faith: and  
 “ then we are said to be justified with that kind of Justification, &  
 “ absolution from sin, which breedeth peace in our Consciences.  
 “ And this (saith he) I confirm by two arguments. 1. Because  
 “ by the Righteousnesse of Christ, wee obtain not onely Remissi-  
 “ on of sinnes, but Faith it self, and Repentance, as it is written,  
 “ God hath blessed us with all spirituall blessings in Christ, *Ephes.*  
 “ 1. 3. Therefore even before Faith and Repentance, the  
 “ Righteousnesse of Christ is applyed to us, as for which  
 “ wee obtain Grace effectually to believe in Christ, and to re-  
 “ pent. 2. Because Justification and absolution, as they signify an  
 “ immanent act in God, are *ab eterno*, &c.  
 “ Wherto he subjoyneth the Poets ingenuous verse to the reader.

“ *Si quid novisti rectius istis,*

“ *Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*

Before Dr. Twisse, Chamier (a Divine, as free as the other from  
 suspicion of Antinomianisme) denyeth Faith to be a cause of  
 Justification; “ For if it were (saith hee) Justification should not  
 “ be of Grace, but of us. But Faith is said to justify, not because  
 “ it effecteth Justification, but because it is effected in the justified  
 “ person, and requisite to be found in him. *De Fide libr. 13. cap. 6.*  
 And to the same purpose, *De Justificatione, libr. 22. cap. 12.* hee  
 contendeth, “ that Faith as it doth not merit, nor bring Justi-  
 “ fication, so neither doth it (*impetrare*) obtain it. For if  
 “ it were so, then *tum ratione, tum tempore Fides præcederet Justi-*  
 “ *ficationem*, Faith should goe before Justification, both in nature  
 “ and time: Which (saith hee) in no sort may be granted. For  
 “ Faith is it self a part of Sanctification; but there is no San-  
 “ ctification, but after Justification, *que & re, & natura prior*  
 “ *est*, which both in the thing it self, and in nature is before it.

To the like purpose doth Mr. Pemble deliver his judgment  
 in his Book of the Nature and Properties of Grace and Faith,

PART I. Page 24. 25. of his Edition in Folio.

The Discrepance of all these Divines from the received explications of the most, gave just occasion, why in such an Assembly, the judgment of sundry acute and judicious Elders, might be required. Accordingly, in one day of their dispute in the Synod (as Mr. *Wheleswright*, if I forget not) I interposed such a word as God may bee said to justifie me before the habit, or act of Faith, and the habit is the effect of my Justification, intending the same sense, as hath been expressed out of those Divines: upon which the next day was taken up in disputing and arguing that Point with mee. And when I saw their apprehensions, that they were suitable to Scripture phrase, and the contrary difficulties might bee removed *sano sensu*, I the next morning did of my self freely declare to them publickly, my content with them in the point, which (as they professed) they gladly accepted.

Now upon all this relation (which is the substance of the whole Truth in this cause) I desire Mr. *Baylie* might consider what ground hee had, " either to report mee to the World as " sometimes dangerously fallen into the horrible Errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme: or to take Ms. *Hatchinsons* report in this cause, That shee was of Mr. *Cottons* judgment in all " things. Let him please to read the short story of the Errors and heresies, for which shee was admonished publickly in *Boston Church*, and compare them with the Tenents of mine now mentioned, and let him judge of himself, whether shee was of Mr. *Cottons* judgment in all things.

I would not have enlarged my self so much, either to clear her testimony, or to elevate it, were it not to take off some scruples and furnishes in Mr. *Baylie* of some dangerous guilt in me of Antinomian, and Familisticall errors, which he thinkes cannot be avoided by what he collecteth from other testimonies, as well as hers which may fully be prevented and avoided by this relation of the true state of things.

But before I leave speech of her, let me speak a word to Mr. *Baylie* of the Epithet hee is pleased to give her, " when hee styleth " her, my dear friend, with whom I resolved to side and separate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as Legall " Churches.

At her first comming shee was well respected and esteemed of me,



not onely because herself and her family were well beloved in *England at Allford in Lincolnshire* (not far beyond *Boston*.) nor onely because she with her family came over hither (as was said) for conscience sake: but chiefly for that I heard, shee did much good in our Town, in womans meeting at Childbirth-Travells, wherein shee was not onely skilfull and helpfull, but readily fell into good discourse with the women about their spiritual estates: And therein cleared it unto them, That the soul lying under a Spirit of Bondage, might see and sensibly feel the hainous guilt, and deep desert of sin, and thereby not onely undergoe affliction of Spirit but also receive both restraining, and constraining Grace likewise, (in some measure:) restraining from all known evill (both courses, and companies) (at least for a season) and constraining to all known duties, as secret Prayer, Family Exercises, Conscience of Sabbaths, Reverence of Ministers, Frequenting of Sermons, Diligence in calling, honesty in dealing, and the like: yea and that the Soul might find some tastes and flashes of spirituall comfort in this estate, and yet never see or feel the need of Christ, much lesse attain any saving Union, or Communion with him, being no more but Legall work, even what the Law, and the Spirit of bondage (breathing in it) might reach unto. By which means many of the women (and by them their husbands) were convinced, that they had gone on in a Covenant of Works, and were much shaken and humbled thereby, and brought to enquire more seriously after the Lord Jesus Christ, without whom all their Gifts and Graces would prove but common, and their duties but legall, and in the end wizen and vanish. All this was well (as is reported truely, *page 31* of her Story) and suited with the publike Ministry, which had gone along in the same way, so as these private conferences did well tend to water the seeds publicly sown. Whereupon all the faithfull embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitfull discourses. And many whose spirituall estates were not so safely layed, yet were hereby helped and awakened to discover their sandy foundations, and to seek for better establishment in Christ: which caused them also to blesse the Lord for the good successe, which appeared to them by this discovery.

Hitherto therefore shee wrought with God, and with the Ministers, the work of the Lord. No marvell therefore if at that time, shee found loving and dear respect both from our Church-

PART I. Elders and Brethren, and so from my self also amongst the rest.

Afterwards, it is true, she turned aside not only to corrupt opinions, but to dis-esteem generally the Elders of the churches, (though of them she esteemed best of Mr. *Shepherd*:) and for my selfe, (in the repetitions of Sermons in her house) what she repeated and confirmed, was accounted sound, what she omitted, was accounted Apocrypha. This change of hers was long hid from me, and much longer the evidence of it, by any two clear witnesses. I sent some Sisters of the Church on purpose to her Repetitions, that I might know the truth: but when shee discerned any such present, no speech fell from her, that could be much excepted against. But further discourse about her course is not pertinent to the present business. But by this Mr. *Baylie* may discern, how farre Ms. *Hutchinson* was dear unto mee, and if hee speak of her as my deare friend, till shee turned aside, I refuse it not.

But yet thus much I must professe to him, That in the times of her best acceptance, shee was not so dear unto mee, but that (by the help of Christ) I dealt faithfully with her about her spirituall estate. There things I told her, made her spirituall estate unclear to mee. 1. "That her Faith was not begotten nor (by her relation) scarce at any time strengthened, by publick Ministry, but by private Meditations, or Revelations onely.

"2. That shee clearly discerned her Justification (as shee professed:) but little or nothing at all, her Sanctification: though (she said) shee beleaved, such a thing there was by plain Scripture.

"3. That she was more sharply censorious of other mens spirituall estates and hearts, then the servants of God are wont to be, who are more taken up with judging of themselves before the Lord, then of others.

Now a word of that other passage, in Mr. *Baylies* speech, touching my resolution to side with Ms. *Hutchinson*, and to separate from all the Churches of New-England, as legall Synagogues. The truth is, I did intended to remove, but not to Separate; much lesse with Ms. *Hutchinson*, and least of all from all the Churches of New-England: and yet lesse then the least of all, to separate from them, as legall Synagogues.

The occasion of my intent of removall was this. After the banishment



banishment of Ms. *Hutchinson* and sundry others by occasion of her, the generall court made an order, that none should be received to abide as Inhabitants in this Jurisdiction, unlesse they were allowed under the hand of the Governour, or two Assistants. The Assistants are our Magistrates. When this Law came to be put in ure, I was informed that some godly passengers who hither arrived out of *England*, were refused to sit down amongst us, because (upon tryall) they held forth such an union with Christ by the Spirit giving Faith, as did precede the acting of Faith upon Christ: and such an evidence of that union, by the favour of God shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, as did precede the seeing (though not the being) of Sanctification.

This took the deeper impression upon me, because I saw by this meanes, wee should receive no more Members into our Church, but such as must professe themselves of a contrary judgment to what I beleaved to bee a Truth. Besides I was informed, that it was the judgment of some of place, in the Countrey, that such a Doctrine of Union, and evidencing of Union, as was held forth by mee, was the *Trojan Horse*, out of which all the erroneous Opinions and differences of the Countrey did issue forth.

Hereupon, fearing this might in time breed a renewall of Paroxysmes, I called to mind the intent of my coming hither, which was, not to disturb, but to edify the Churches here: and therefore began to entertain thoughts rather of peaceable removall then of offensive continuance. At the same time there was brought to mee a writing, subscribed with about threescore hands to encourage me to removall, and offering their readinesse to remove with mee into some other part of this Countrey.

I considered, If wee removed, it would be matter of much various construction amongst such as knew us, both in *Old-England*, and *New*; and I was loth to doe any thing, (especially of importance) but what I might give account of before God, and his people; I took advice therefore of some friends here, especially Mr. *Davenport*, and resolved, first to clear the certainty of the grounds of the information given mee of the rejections of those godly persons (of whom I had heard) for their judgments sake in those points. 2. To see if my continuance here would certainly, or

PART I. probably breed any further offensive agitation: And 3. If both those things were found clearly, then to take opportunity with common consent to remove to *Quinipiac* whereto at that time a door was opened.

But when I came to enquire the certainty of these informations, in conference with some of our chief Magistrates and others, I found, though there had speech been about such points between themselves, and some passengers: yet their refusall of such passengers was not upon those points, but (as I remember) upon denyall of inherent righteousness in beleivers, and of any evidence of a good estate from thence, first or last. Withall, they declared to mee their minds touching such points of Union, or evidencing of Union, which I had taught, that they did not looke at them to bee of such Fundamentall concernment either to civill or Church-Peace, as needed to occasion any distance in heart, (much lesse in place) amongst godly brethren. Which when I heard from them, and found upon search, the mis-informations given mee, were but misprisions, I then layed down all thoughts of removall, and sat down satisfied in my abode amongst them, and have so continued (by the help of God) to this day. By all this may appear the truth of what I said, that though I had thoughts of removall, yet not with Ms. *Harrison*, shee being gone to *Road Island*, but I intending *Quinipiac*. Much lesse had I any thoughts of Separation from all the Churches of *New-England*; for the Churches in *Quinipiac* are in *New-England*. And those Churches at the Bay (amongst whom I lived) It was far from my thoughts to separate from them, whom I ever truly honored as the holy Spouses of Jesus Christ. Nor did I ever look at such Points, as any just ground of Separation from any Church, (so much as in place, much lesse in Communion:) no nor any just ground of removall from them, unlesse a man were compelled to professe contrary to his judgment. And least of all durst I turn my back upon such Churches as Legall Synagogues, who do all of us hold Union with Christ, and evidencing of Union by the same Spirit, and the same Faith and the same holinesse: though some may conceive the Union wrought in giving the habit, and others rather refer it to the act: and some may give the second place to that, whereto others give the first.

It was therefore too much credulity in Mr. *Baylie*, either to take



take up the former testimony from Ms. *Hutchinson*, or this latter from Mr. *Williams*: though if both of them had joyned in one and the same Testimony, (which they doe not) yet the Testimony of two excommunicate Persons doth not make up *idoneum Testimonium* in Ecclesiasticall causes. P A R T I.

“ No? Saith Mr. *Baylie*, if I mistake not the humor of the man, (Mr. *Williams* he meaneth) he is very unwilling to report a lie of his greatest enemy.

I look not at my self, as his greatest, or least, or any enemy at all. I doe not know, that I did ever walke towards him either in the affection, or action of an enemy, notwithstanding the provoking injuries, and indignities hee hath put upon mee.

Nor would I call it any mans humor (as Mr. *Baylie* calleth it, Mr. *Williams* his humor) “ to be very unwilling to report a lye of his greatest enemy.

But this I say, Mr. *Williams* is too too credulous of surmises and reports brought to him, and too too confident in divulging of them. Which if Mr. *Baylie* know not, hee may (at his leisure, if hee think it worth the while) peruse the Reply, I have made to his answer of my Letter, as also my answer to his bloody Tenent.

But Mr. *Baylie* giveth the more credit to Mr. *Williams* his Testimony, because Mr. *Williams* saith in his examination of my Letter, How could I possibly (saith hee) bee ignorant of their estate, when being from first to last in fellowship with them, an Officer amongst them, had private and publick agitation concerning their Estate, with all, or most of their Ministers?

The answer is very easie both to Mr. *Williams*, and Mr. *Baylie* too, that Mr. *Williams* speaketh of the times before his banishment: then indeed he had some fellowship with us, and might have had more, but that hee suspected all the *States conventus* of the Elders to bee unwarrantable, and such as might in time make way to a Presbyteriall government. But this Testimony, which hee giveth about my neerenesse to Separation from these Churches, was many yeares after his banishment from us, when hee was in no fellowship with us, sacred nor civill, nor came any whit neer any private or publick agitation amongst us, nor could have any intelligence of our affaires, but by report and fame, which is *tam ficti pravi que tenax, quam nuncia veri*, and is indeed in this point, most false. “ But

PART I. " But yet (saith Mr. Baylie) the truth of this horrible fall (of  
 " Mr. Cotton) if you will not take it, neither from the follow-  
 " ers of Ms. Hutchinson, nor from the Testimony of Mr. Winthrop,  
 " and of Mr. Wells in their printed relations of the Schism  
 " there.

" Both these, albeit, with all care and study, they endeavour  
 " to save Mr. Cottons credit: yet they let the truth of Mr. Cottons  
 " Seduction fall from their Pens in so clear termes, as cannot be  
 " avoided: yea so clear, as no Art will get Mr. Cotton cleared.

Notwithstanding al this confident charge of Mr. Baylie, there will  
 be no need at al of any Art to clear Mr. Cotton, from Seduction into  
 any such horrible fall, the naked truth (by the helpe of Christ)  
 will clear both it self, and him. The Testimonies of Mr. Winthrop,  
 and Mr. Wells, are all delivered (as it seemeth) in the short Story.  
 There

" In the Preface, page 7. It is said, By this time, they had to pa-  
 " tronise them, some of the Magistrates, and some men eminent  
 " for Religion, Parts and Wit.

Ans. 1. This were something, if there were no more men  
 eminent for Religion, Parts and Wit, in the Country but my self,  
 who professe no eminency in any of these in respect of many of  
 my Brethren. But if I were eminent, the testimony concludeth not:  
 Let not Art judge, whether the conclusion will follow from both  
 the premises particular: but let common sense judge of such  
 men, as then lived in the Countrey, whether there were  
 not many eminent persons for Religion, Parts, and Wit,  
 who did patronise them, though I had been out of the  
 Countrey.

2. I willingly confesse, that I my self, though I did not patro-  
 nise them, yet I did countenance them (in my measure) whilst they  
 held forth (to my knowledge) no more then I have formerly  
 delivered of my own Tenents: which yet I hope he will not a-  
 gain tax, as an horrible fall into Antinomianisme and Familisme.  
 When their Errors were brought to me, I bare publike witness against  
 them, even before I was fully perswaded that those per-  
 sons were guilty of them.

His next Testimony (which hee quoteth from page 25. of the  
 short Story) the former part of it concerneth Mr. Wheelwright, and  
 not mee: though I must confesse I doe not know how it can be  
 collected,



collected from Mr. *Whelewrights* doctrine, unless it were by a fore-  
 stalled mis-apprehension and mis-application of those hearers,  
 who were leavened with corrupt Opinions. The latter part of the  
 testimony, "That the former Governor never stirred out, but at-  
 tended by the Serjants with Halberts or Carrabines, but the pre-  
 sent Governor was neglected: I do not remember, that ceremony  
 was any more then once neglected: and when I heard it, I bore  
 witness against it. And they excused their former observance,  
 by the eminency of the person. But sure I am, the present Govern-  
 or (as he well deserveth all honor from this Peopole, so) he is sel-  
 dome or never seen in publick, but in like sort attended with Hal-  
 berts or Carrabines.

Next, he alledgeth a testimony from the Court, which (it is like-  
 ly) was delivered by Mr. *Wintthrop*, being then Governor, page 35.  
 of the short Story: "They soon profited so well, as in a few  
 moneths, they outwent their Teacher.

*Ans.* This testimony is so far from taxing mee of any horri-  
 ble fall, that it clearly acquiteth mee from the fellowship thereof.  
 For if they outwent their Teacher, as the Court said (and said  
 truly:) then I went not along with them in their Tenents.  
 And Teacher I was called, and their Teacher, as being called  
 to that Office in that Church, whereof many of them were  
 Members.

The next testimony (from page 33. of the story) expres-  
 seth, "That upon the countenance it took from some emi-  
 nent Persons, her Opinions began to hold up their heads in  
 Courts of Justice.

*Ans.* This might indeed argue, that some Magistrates leaned  
 more or lesse to that way: but it reacheth not me, who am seldome  
 present at any Courts, but when with other Elders I am sent for.  
 And let it not be forgotten, what I related above, that many held  
 with those Opinionists (as they were called) when they knew of  
 no other opinions held forth by them, but what was publicly  
 taught in our Church: but after they were discovered to overgoe  
 not so much their Teachers, as the truth, and that so evidently, as  
 could clearly be convinced by the testimony of two or three wit-  
 nesses, they were soon forsaken by those, who esteemed better of  
 them before.

His next testimony is from the story page 32. "It was a  
 wonder, upon what a suddain, the whole Church of Boston  
 (some

**PART I.** “ (some few excepted) were become her new Converts, and inter-  
 “ sted with her Opinions.

“ And Preface page 7. most of the Seducers lived in the Church  
 “ of Boston.

*Ans.* That most of the Church of *Boston* consented with *Mr. Hutchinson*, (whilst shee openly held forth no more, then what was publickly taught) is true; but nothing to prove *Mr. Cottons* horrible fall, for after shee fell into any horrible, or evident errors, it may clearly appear, the whole Church were not become her converts, by this undeniable evidence, that the whole body of the Church (except her own son) consented with one accord, to the publick censure of her, by admonition first, and excommunication after.

“ But (saith *Mr. Baylie*) None of these erroneous persons were  
 “ ever called to account by the Presbytery of that Church, till  
 “ after the Assembly, though the Pastor of the Church, *Mr. Wilson*  
 “ was alwayes exceeding zealous against them.

*Ans.* 1. *Mr. Baylie* is mistaken, when he saith, *Mr. Wilson* was alwayes exceeding zealous against them. For the whole Church will bear him witnesse, hee was a long time full of much forbearance towards them, and thought well of them, and bare witnesse to the wayes of free Grace in such manner, as testified his good will to them and the Truth. Afterwards in some private conference, which one or more of them had with him, and (our beloved Sister) his Wife, he discerned some more rottenness in them, and their way, then he suspected before: And after that time indeed, he grew more zealous against them, but the occasion of the offence was private, and (for a good space) unknown both to mee and the Church.

2. But why they were not called to account by the Presbytery of the Church, the reason was evident: because their grosse errors were not confirmed into us, by two or three witnesses. And this I can truly professe, That when the Elders of other Churches acquainted mee with some of their Errors, (even when the noise of them was spread far and neer:) yet they acknowledged, the Erroneous persons were so cautious, that they would never vent any grosse Errors before two witnesses. And this I can further truly avouch, that my self dealt sadly and seriously with some chief leaders of them, both by word, and writing to recover them from the Error of their way: which though they would argue



for, yet they would ever excuse themselves from settling upon any such things. I dealt also with others (whom I began to suspect might be leavened by their Leaders) and earnestly charged them to beware what Tenents they received from them, lest by that means they might be corrupted themselves, and their Leaders hardned. But they would not bee known to me, that they drunke in any such dregs, as afterwards appeared.

His next testimony is taken from Ms. *Hutchinsons* speech in the open Court, " Preferring my Ministry in holding forth free Grace, above some, or most of the other Elders. But of the invalidity of her testimony in these things I have spoken, (I suppose) enough above. An evill Spirit (which sometimes breatheth both in good and bad persons,) may give a glorious testimony to some servants of God, not so much to honour them, or their doctrine, as either to cover themselves under their shadow, or else (but that was not her aime) to bring them and their Doctrin into suspicion, and trouble, as the Spirit of the *Pythonesse* did to *Paul* and *Silas*, *Act.* 16, 17, to 20. That speech of hers, I bore witness against it, as prejudiciall and injurious both to them and mee.

Another testimony hee alledgeth out of the Story, Page 50. " That all the Ministers consented in bearing some witness against Mr. *Whelewright*, except their Brother the Teacher of Boston.

*Ans.* The Story relateth those words, as the speech of the Elders; that they speak of me, as their Brother, to wit, the brother of the Elders, lest any should misconceive of their speech, as ranking me in a Brotherhood with erroneous persons.

That I did not consent with the rest of my Brethren (the Elders) in drawing the inference out of Mr. *Whelewrights* Sermon, which they (being required) presented to the Court, I had a twofold reason for it. 1. Because I was not present with them, when they searched Mr. *Whelewrights* Sermon, and gathered that inference from it.

2 Because I could not speake it of mine own knowledge, " That the Elders of the Country did walk in or teach such a way of Salvation, and evidencing thereof, as Mr. *Whelewright* describeth, and accounteth to bee a Covenant of Works,

They knew what themselves taught in that point, better then

**PART I.** then I. The Elders might testifie what they knew: I could not testifie, what I knew not. But it seemeth any testimonies will serve turn, when such as these are thought unavoidable, to lay me under the guilt of an horrible fall.

Yet one more remaineth, from page 21. "That albeit the Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned most of these new opinions, and Mr. Cotton had in publick view consented with the rest: yet the leaders in those Erroneous wayes stood still to maintain their New Light. Mr. *Whelewright* also continued his Preaching, and Ms. *Hutchinson* her wonted meetings: and much offence was stil given by her, and others in going out from the Pastors Exercise.

*Ans. 1.* As the Assembly of the Churches confuted and condemned those Errors, so I will not say, That the motion of confuting them (as I remember) arose from my self. And my self also had an hand in confuting such of them, as the Elders committed to my hand, as themselves took severall likewise taskes, none of us confuted all. My consent to the confutation, I have expressed above, and in what sense. What I did in publick view (as the Story expresseth it) I spake before the Lord, and from the truth of my heart.

That notwithstanding this Act of the Assembly against the Errors, the leaders still stood to maintain their way, it was because the Assembly did not fasten these Errors upon any Persons either in our own, or other Churches. And what corrupt opinions were maintained by our Members, it was done in private, and not before such witnesses, as might reach to publick conviction.

Mr. *Whelewrights* continuance in his preaching, was 8. or 9. miles distance from us. And having been put into that place before by the Church, whilst the Farmers there belonged to our Church, (which by reason of the distance, wee soon after dismissed into a Church-estate amongst themselves) wee that were Elders could not (if wee would) discharge him from that worke, without the consent of the Church. But though hee gave some offence in some passages at the Assembly, (which hee since upon further conference and consideration retracted:) yet neither the Church, nor my self (notwithstanding those unsafe expressions) did ever look at him, either as an Antinomian or Familist. Many of us knew that hee had taken good paines against both, and in that very place, where hee was wont to preach; insomuch that  
one



one of his hearers (who since joyned to Mr. *Gortons* society) openly contested against his doctrine as false and Antichristian. And when Mr. *Whelewright* was put out of this Countrey (though hee be since restored) yet if hee had cleaved to the Errors which Ms. *Hutchinsons* company fell into, he would never have refused their earnest invitation and call of him, to Minister unto them. They sent to him, and urged him much to come to them, to a far richer soyle, and richer company then where hee lived: yet hee constantly refused, and upon that very ground, because of the corruption of their judgments: "Professing often, whilst they pleaded for the Covenant of Grace, they took away the Grace of the Covenant.

Ms. *Hutchinsons* continuance of her weekly meetings we could not proceed to the suppression thereof, with consent of the Church, before wee received the conviction of her personall Errors, which shee still closely carryed, till after her civill censure. And then shee declared her self more plainly, and witnesses arose more fully, and the Church proceeded against her accordingly.

The going of her self and others out of the Congregation when our Pastor began to Exercise, though many feared it was a turning their backs upon his Ministry: yet the most of them were women, and they pretended many excuses for their going out, which it was not easie to convince of falshood in them, or of their contempt of him.

But in fine, when her Antinomian and Familistickall Errors were held forth by her before sufficient witnesses, our Church (as I said before) proceeded without delay, first, to admonish her according to the rule, *Tit. 3. 10, 11*. Afterwards when upon serious paines taken with her, Mr. *Davenport*, and myself (as wee thought) had convinced her of her erroneous wayes in judgment and practice, so as that under her hand, shee presented a Recantation before the whole Church, (indeed before many Churches then assembled at *Boston*) yet withall, (after some passages of speech) "Professing that shee never was of any other judgment, then what she now held forth, so many witnesses forthwith rose up to convince the contrary, that with common consent both of the Elders and Brethren of our Church, shee was cast out of our Communion.

And now that (by the help of Christ) I have perused all the testimonies,

**PART I.** testimonies, which Mr. Baylie hath alledged to convince me of an horrible fall into Antinomianism, and Familism, I desire him in the fear of God to consider, whether any or all these testimonies severally or jointly, will amount to make good such grievous scandalls, as hee hath charged upon mee. Which if they neither will, nor can reach unto, let him remember his promise in his Epistle Dedicatory, "That in all which he hath said over and above (just testimony) he will undertake to give ample satisfaction, wherein so ever he hath given the least offence to any. Meane while the Lord lay not this sin to his charge.

**SECT. 14.** *Of Cottons humiliation upon his former fall, as is reported by Mr. Baylie.*

But yet let me adde a word more, to a word of Mr. Baylie in his entrance of this discourse of my Antinomianism, and Familism, which may else leave an impression upon the minds of some Reader, as if I had acknowledged this my dangerous fall, and had been much humbled for it.

" This other more dangerous fall (saith hee) as it hath already  
 " much humbled his Spirit, and opened his eare to instruction,  
 " and I trust will not leave working, till it have brought him  
 " yet nearer to his Brethren: so to the worlds end, it cannot but  
 " be a matter of fear and trembling to all, who shall know it, and  
 " of abundant caution, to bee very wary of receiving any singula-  
 " rity from his hand, without due tryall.

*Ans.* 1. Suppose all this were true *in terminis*, as Mr. Baylie hath expressed it, yet this were no impeachment at all to the doctrine and practice of that (which hee calleth) our Independent Church way; nor is it any just ground of caution to bee wary of receiving my testimony to it. Peters dangerous and dreadfull fall into the denyall of Christ, (though hee seemed to be a pillar) was no impeachment, but advancement to Christianity. And if my fall were so dangerous, walking in this Church-way, and stumbling so foully in it, the greater Grace and witnesse from heaven was upon his Churches in this way, who by the blessing of God were instruments of recovering me out of this fall, even by a consultatory conference in a Synod, which did not assume to themselves any power of Church-censures. Let mee be accounted to have fallen, and to have fallen (as Mr. Baylie representeth it) horribly,



horribly, so that the truth and wayes of Christ may stand and find free passage. PART I.

Neither is this fall of mine such a just ground of caution (as he would make it) unto any, to bee very wary of receiving my testimony to this Church way. For the way is no way of singularity from my hand, but that which the body of the rest of my Brethren, and of the Churches in this Country doe walk in with mee.

*Ans<sup>r</sup>. 2.* But yet, let not Mr. *Baily* make further speech or use of my humiliation, then was performed, or intended by me. For God hath not given mee to this day (upon my best search) to discern any such dangerous fall into Antinomianisme, or Familisme, as either hath, or might much humble my spirit.

It is true, my spirit had much cause to be humbled, (and so through mercy it was) upon many just occasions at that time. As first, that so many Erroneous and Hereticall opinions should be broached in the Country, and carried on with such Arrogancy, and Censoriousnesse, and guile of spirit.

Secondly, That the principall offenders in this kind were members of our own Church, and some of them such as had neer relation to my self.

Thirdly, that my self should be so sleepy and invigilant, as that these (not Tares onely, but Bryers) should be sown in our Field, and my self not discern them, till sundry persons up and down the Countrey were leavened by them.

Fourthly, that such as endeavoured the healing of these distempers, did seeme to me to be transported with more jealousies, and heates, and paroxysmes of spirit, then would well stand with brotherly love, or the rule of the Gospel.

The bitter fruits whereof doe remaine to this day, in the Letters sent over that year from hence to *England*. Whence also it came to passe finally, that in the course taken for the cleansing of Gods Field, it seemed to me, that some good Wheat was pluckt up with the Tares, some simple hearted honest men, and some truths of God, fared the worse for the resemblance which the tares bare to them.

Upon all which grounds, my self with our whole Church thought it needfull to set a day apart for publick humiliation before the Lord, wherein these and the like, both in Prayer and Preaching, were opened more at large before the Lord and his people.

But

## PART I.

But all this will not amount to make good Mr. Baylies word,  
 “ That my dangerous fall into Antinomianisme and Familisme  
 “ hath much humbled my Spirit.

Nor can I say (as he doth) that it hath opened mine eares to instruction. For I doe not know, that they have been shut to it, when I discerned the Spirit, and Word of truth breathing in it.

Nor can I say after him, “ That the humbling of my spirit for  
 “ those dangerous errours, will not leave working till it have  
 “ brought me yet nearer to my brethren.

For though I blesse the Lord, who hath brought me nearer to my brethren, and them also nearer to me, which I trust will still grow whilst our selves grow (in all the duties of brotherly love, wherein we have much sweet and frequent intercourse:) yet I doe not interpret this as the fruit of my spirits humiliation for my Antinomy, and Familisme: but as the fruit of our clearer apprehension, both of the cause and of the state of our differences, and of our joynt consent and concurrence in bearing witness against the common heresies, and errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme, which disturbed us all.

But Mr. Baily as he began his discourse of my dangerous fall with relation of my humiliation for it: so hee shatteth it up, pag. 58. with a like close of my grieve of mind, and confusion for it.

“ I have been informed (saith he) by a gracious Preacher who  
 “ was present at the Synod in *New-England*, that all the Bre-  
 “ thren there, being exceedingly scandalized with Mr. Cottons  
 “ carriage, in Mistris *Hutchinsons* processe, did so farre discour-  
 “ tenance, and so severely admonish him, that hee was thereby  
 “ brought to the greatest shame, confusion and grieve of mind,  
 “ that ever in all his life he had endured.

*Answ. 1.* I conceive it is not allowable in Presbyteriall discipline, (sure I am, not in Congregationall) that an accusation shall be received against an Elder under one witness, though he gracious and a Preacher: especially when this gracious Preacher is namelesse, and his testimony hovereth in generalities, without instance in particular offences: as “ That all the Brethren were  
 “ exceedingly scandalized with Mr. Cottons carriage in Mistris *Hutchinsons* processe, but not expressing what carriage, nor what processe, nor wherein they were scandalized.

“ And



“ And that all the Brethren did so far discountenance him,  
“ and severely admonish him, as that he was thereby brought to  
“ the greatest shame, and confusion, and grief of mind, that e-  
“ ver in all his life he endured. But no mention for what offence  
they did so severely admonish him, nor wherein they did so farre  
discountenance him.

Such words of infamy, and reproach may passe for Table talke,  
(which yet morall Philosophy would not approve :) but surely in  
orderly Church-Discipline, such dealing could not passe without  
just reproof, unlesse there were too much prejudice or partiality,  
the rule is plain and obvious, and not now the first time violated  
in the Disswative, 2 Tim. 5. 19.

*Answer.* 2. I must (as justly I may) protest against that testi-  
mony, not onely as violating the rule of Love, but of Truth  
also. For,

1. It is untrue, that all the Brethren were scandalized with my  
carriage, much lesse exceedingly scandalized at the Synod, or in a-  
ny proceffe about Ms. *Hutchinson*. There were sundry godly bre-  
thren otherwise minded, and otherwise affected.

2. It is untrue also, that such as were scandalized, did so-severe-  
ly admonish me, or discountenance me; for I can neither call to  
mind any such deep discountenance, nor any such severe admoni-  
tion of Brethren, and yet I had reason to know it, and to remem-  
ber it well, as well as any Brother at the Synod: the matter so  
neerly concerning my self, and more neerly and deeply, then any  
man else:

3. It is most untrue, that I was so far discountenanced, “and  
“ so severely admonished, as that I was brought to the greatest  
“ shame, confusion and grief of mind, that ever in all my life I  
“ had endured.

I should have little comfort in my own spirit, to look either  
God or man in the face, “if the discountenance or admonition  
“ of men (especially for such carriage) were the greatest shame,  
“ and confusion, and grief of mind, that ever in all my life I had  
endured. The rebukes of God upon the soule for sin will put a  
man to far greater shame, and confusion and grief of mind, then  
any discountenance, or admonition from Brethren, (especially  
for such offences) *Psal. 76. 7.* But whatsoever discountenance, or  
dis-respect I met withall, from one hand or other, till the true  
state of my judgment, and carriage was clearly manifested, I have  
long

**PART I.** long agoe left with the Lord: But I conceive I have met with more hard measure in Letters to *England*, and in ungrounded reports there, then ever I found from the admonition, or discountenance of any brethren here.

**SECT. 15.** *Of the shamefull absurdities said to be found in the way of Independency: notwithstanding the great helps, to prevent, or cover it: and first, of those helps.*

Mr. Baylie now undertaketh to prove that which he calleth a broad Assertion, and well may hee so call it: for it reacheth far beyond all dimensions of truth. His assertion is, "That the way (which he calleth) Independency hath in a few years (lesse then one week of yeares) flown out into more shamefull absurdities, then the Brownists to this day, in all their 50. yeares try- all have stumbled upon.

How will Mr. Baylie (think you) make this good?

His affirmation, that the way of the Brownism, and Independency (as he styleth them) are both of them really one and the same, because he saith, it will appeare hereafter, I referre it therefore to his place.

But before hee cometh to make his broad assertion good, yea and (as he promiseth) palpable, he maketh it also by the way, admirable, and that many wayes.

"1. In that the Independency hath been brought to the utmost pitch of perfection, which the wit, and industry of its best Patrons were able to attain: and hath been fenced with the Laws of gracious Magistrates, who were at our absolute devotion, and yet hath flown out, &c.

*Answer.* 1. We that judge that way (which he calleth Independency) to be of God, should account it blasphemy in our selves, to accept such a style put upon us, as to be the best Patrons of it. We doe verily believe, that though our selves, all of us, should imploy our best wits and industry to joyn with Mr. Baylie to subvert and deface it: yet the Lord Jesus would show himself a Patron to maintain his own Institutions, though with the confusion of the faces, and enterprizes of us all. The Word which hath gone out of his mouth for the Government and ordering of his Church till



till his second appearing, he himself as he hath spoken it, will also shew it forth in his times, who is the blessed and onely Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, 1 Tim. 6. 14, 15. PART I.

*Ans.* 2. Wee cannot but with thankfulness acknowledge the goodnesse of God in our gracious Magistrates, and their assistance to us in the work of the Lord: But when Mr. Baylie maketh them to be at our absolute devotion, his *umpson* is too too injurious in debasing them, and (in their eyes) advancing us. For neither are they devoted to us at all, nor much lesse absolutely. Though they sometimes consult with us in matters of conscience; yet they take our counsell no further then they see it cleared from the Word. And besides, it is too vast an advancement of us, to make them absolutely of our devotion. For devotion in matters of Religion, (or as *Thomas* speaketh, *in iis que ad Deum tantum, & servitutum pertinent*) is a divine worship due to God onely; in as much that *Aquinas* taketh it to be too high a worship to be terminated in Saints, 22<sup>a</sup>. *Quest.* 82. *Art.* 2. And yet he alloweth more divine worship to Saints, then any orthodox protestant can excuse from Idolatry.

Again secondly, "It may seeme to make the palpableness of our outflowings the more admirable, in that (as he saith) much of our way is yet in the dark.

Thirdly, "In that none of our selves have proclaimed our discords to our own shame.

Fourthly, "That none who have fallen from us, have of purpose put pen to Paper, to informe the world of our wayes.

Fifthly, "That none of us have been willing to reply to any of the books written against us, &c.

*Ans.* It were much I confesse, if wee had all these advantages of concealment which he mentioneth, and yet nevertheless so many, and so shamefull absurdities of ours should fall out in so short a time, and become to palpable as Mr. Baylie proclaimeth them. But the truth is, neither have we had those advantages, (he speaketh of;) but the contrary disadvantages, nor yet do we feare, that he will be able to find such absurdities to have fallen out in our way, much lesse so shamefull.

For first, the way of the New English Churches is not in the dark, but published to the view of the world, in the book so entitled (refuted by Mr. *Rutherford*;) As also in the Apology of these Churches, in the Covenant, in the Answer to 32. Questions

**PART I.** ons; in another answer to 9. Questions; in the answer to Mr. *Herle*, and to Mr. *Ratbone*. Some of our most populous Churches do no Church Act, no not of discipline, but in the presence of the whole Towne, (non-members; as well as members;) so many of them as are pleased to be present. Wayes of truth seeke no corners; if any Church admonish a brother privately, it is because his offence is not known to non-members.

Againe, if in our discords, none of us have proclaimed our shame, whence hath Mr. *Baily* gathered all our shamefull absurdities? The short story, (the greatest storehouse of his testimonies) what is it, but a fruit of our discords? Besides, if none that have fallen from us, have of purpose put pen to Paper to informe the world of our wayes, what meane the blearings of *Plaine dealing*, and Mr. *Williams* his *Investives* against us, which yeld a further supply to Mr. *Bailies* testimonies?

Moreover, if none of us have been willing to reply to the Books written against us, how come it to passe that Mr. *Hacker* hath written a large answer to Mr. *Rutherford*; Mr. *Davenport* to Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Mader* to Mr. *Ratbone*; Mr. *Shepard* and Mr. *Allen* to Mr. *Ball*, Mr. *Norton* in Latin to Mr. *Appollonii*; my self to Mr. *Williams*, both to his examination of my Letter, and to his bloody Tenent? If any of these have miscarried by the way, or in *England* have met with a suppression for an impression, it cannot be said, "that none of us have been willing to reply to" the Books written against us, nor that wee have been wanting in endeavours, according as the Lord hath vouchsafed us means and opportunitie.

If still there be other Books written against us, unto which no Reply is yet made, it may be considered, our labourers (in that kind) are few, our hands feeble, our times took up with the duties of our calling, helps to ease us are wanting, Domestickall Questions are not wanting, and many times Books are extant against us some yeers before they come to our hands. And yet let not Mr. *Baily* take our silence for a consent to what is written against us: or for a signe of our feare to lay open the true state of our cause, or the nakednesse of our way, (as it seemeth to him;) but let him consider, that if many Books be written by severall hands, of severall subjects against any of us, hee whom it concerneth, cannot Reply to them all at once, but to one after another, as the Lord giveth help and opportunity.



**S E C T. 16.** *Of the first absurdity said to be found in our way of Independency.* **PART I.**

“ But what may bee those shamefull absurdities, which in  
 “ lesse then one week of yeares, wee have flowen out into more  
 “ then ( those hee calleth ) Brownists in 50. yeares of their  
 “ tryall.

“ The fruites of our Church-way, (saith he) are first; the hold-  
 “ ing out of all our Churches and Christian Congregation ma-  
 “ ny thousands of People, who in former time have been reputed  
 “ in *Old England* very good Christians.

“ And this (saith hee) seemeth a grievous absurdity, a great dif-  
 “ honour to God, and cruelty against men to spoile so many  
 “ thousand Christians, whom they dare not deny to be truly  
 “ religious of all the priviledges of the Church, either to them-  
 “ selves, or to their children, or put them into the condition of  
 “ Pagans, &c.

*Ans.* 1. If all this were true, yet it is no greater an absurdity  
 then that wherein those whom hee calleth Brownists, have not  
 onely stumbled upon, but professedly walked in: yea it may be,  
 denying Church Communion to as many Churches as wee  
 doe to persons in this Countrey. And this Mr. Baylie hath  
 taxed them for, above in page 27. of his Book, though here hee  
 forget it.

*Ans.* 2. It is not true, that wee hold out any at all, En-  
 glish or Indian, out of our Christian Congregations. All without  
 exception are allowed to be present, at our publick Prayers and  
 Psalmes, at our reading of the Scriptures, and the preaching and  
 expounding of the same, and also at the admitting of Members,  
 and dispensing of seales and censures.

*Ans.* 3. It is not truly spoken, that wee hold out of all our  
 “ Churches many thousands of People, who in former times  
 “ have been reputed in *Old England* very good Christians, and  
 “ whom our selves dare not deny to be truly religious.

I dare be bold to speak it, wee hold not out any one such: but if  
 any such be held out, we hold not off from them, but they from us:  
 yea we seriously invite them (publickly and privately) to joyne  
 with us: unlesse such religious persons lye under some scandall of  
 corrupt life, or Doctrin.

## PART I.

How then will Mr. Baylie make good (that which he truly calleth) his broad assertion? yes, he undertaketh to make it good by three testimonies.

“ 1. Saith hee, wee have heard sundry to esteeme the number  
“ of the English in that Plantation to exceed 40000. men and  
“ women. But when Mr. Cotton is put to it, he dareth hardly a-  
“ vow the one half of these to be Members of any Church.

And to prove this, he quoteth (in P.) the answer to the 23. questions, page 7.

Whereto the Reply is ready, 1. Mr. Baylie is mistaken, if hee think the answer to the 32. questions was penned by me. Those questions were sent by some Ministers in Lancashire or Cheshire to one of their Country men, (a reverend Brother, and fellow-Elder amongst us) Mr. Mader: who to satisfy their desires returned them that answer, which (it seemeth) hath since been printed. Which I speak not, because I wove the answer, for when he wrote it, he wrote advisedly, and as his whole answer is solid, and judicious; so is his answer, to the question put to him, pertinent and full: but to Mr. Baylies Assertion, it cometh nothing neerer it. But Mr. Baylie should have done well, to have taken his full answer to that question. “ The New-English Plantations are scattered above two hundred Miles in length upon the Sea Coasts: & of  
“ what they did in those remote Plantations, he could not then  
“ give present account. But (saith Mr. Mader) in the Churches  
“ within the Bay, where most of us are best acquainted, we may  
“ truly say, that for the heads of Families those that are admitted, are far more in number then the other; besides whom  
“ there are sundry children and servants, that are admitted also.  
“ And for the reasons (saith he) why many are not yet received to Church-Communion, they be sundry:

“ 1. Sundry are new come over, and so are not yet known.

“ 2. Sundry when they come to be known are found scandalous.

“ 3. Some godly persons forbear to joyn with us for a time, till they may try, which Church and Ministry they can best do withall.

“ 4. Those that are known to be godly (I may adde, though but in judgment of charity) they are all admitted to some Church or other, presently upon their own desire, unless they have given some offence, which also is removed upon their giving due satisfaction.

This



This testimony will will not reach (nothing neere) Mr. Bayles P A R T I. assertion, " That wee hold out of all Churches many thousands  
" of people, who were well reputed of in *Old England*, for very  
" good Christians, and such as our selves dare not deny to bee  
" truly religious.

2. His second testimony is from Mr. *Lechford*, who styleth his Book against the Country, Plain dealing. And what saith he? In his page 73. " Here are (saith he) such confessions, and professions  
" required both of men, and women, both in private and publick, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of  
" the Countrey remain out of the Church, so that in short time,  
" most of the people will remain unbaptized.

*Ans.* The Book is unftly called plaine dealing, which (in respect of many passages in it) might rather be called false and fraudulent. I forbear to speak of the man himself, because soon after the publishing of that Book, himself was called away out of the world to give account of his Book and whole life before the highest Judge. He was indeed himself not received into the Fellowship of the Church, for his professed Errors: as 1. That the Antichrist described in the Revelation was not yet come, nor any part of that Prophecie yet fulfilled from the 4. chapter to the end. 2. That the Apostolick function was not yet ceased: but that there still ought to be such, who should by their transcendent authority govern all Churches. To reclaim him from these Errors, he was seriously dealt withall both in conference, and (according to his desire) in writing. But when hee saw, he could not defend the latter Error, but by building again the Bishops, against whom he had witnessed (as he said) in soliciting the cause of Mr. *Prynne*, he rather then he would revoke his present tenent, acknowledged he was then in an Error, when he took part with Mr. *Prynne*, & Mr. *Burton*, & therefore he would now return to *England* again, to reduce those famous witnesses from the Error of their way. And accordingly, away he went: but see the wise hand of God disappointing his ends; When he came to *England* the Bishops were falling, so that he lost his friends, and hopes both in *Old England* and *New*: yet put out his Book (such as it is) and soon after dyed. By the way, let no man think, he was kept out of our Churches, for maintaining the authority of Bishops. For we have in our Churches some well respected Brethren, who doe indifferently allow either Episcopall, or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall Government,

**PART I.** Government, so be it they governe according to the rules of the Gospel. Neither do we disturbe such, nor they us in our communion with them. But to returne to Mr. *Lechford's* plain dealing that which he testifieth, neither is it true; neither if it were, doeth it reach Mr. *Baylies* assertion.

It is not true, that three parts of the Countrey remaine out of the Church, if he meane three parts of foure, no though hee should take in those remote *English*, who live a score of miles or more from any Church.

But were his speech more true then it is, yet it will not make good Mr. *Baylies* assertion, unlesse those three parts of the Countrey, which (he saith) " remaine out of the Church, were reputed in old *England* for very good Christians, nor durst our selves deny them to be truly religious, to which this testimony alledged giveth no evidence at all.

Mr. *Baylies* third testimony is from Mr. *Williams*, whom hee calleth one of us, " who maketh such Protestants to be Heathens " and publicans, who depart from the Beast in a false constitution of Nationall Churches, if the bodies of Protestant Nations remaine in an unregenerate estate.

*Ans.* I know not, why Mr. *Baylie* should call Mr. *Williams* one of us, who renounceth our Churches, and is himself cast out both of Church-fellowship, and civill cohabitation with us.

His testimony, which Mr. *Baylie* quoteth out of him, " of the " estate of all such Protestants, as live in a Nationall Church " estate, as if Christ did account them Heathens and Publicans.

I say no more to it but this, they may be so accounted by Mr. *Williams*, but wee doe not beleeve they are so accounted of by Christ, but many thousands of them to be pretious Saints in the eyes of the Lord Jesus.

To these testimonies, Mr. *Baylie* interferteth his own testimony and others of his judgement, " It seemeth to us (saith he) " a grievous absurdity, a great dishonor to God, and cruelty " against men to spoyle so many thousand Christians, whom " wee dare not deny to be truly Religious, of all the Priviledges " of the Church, &c.

*Ans.* 1. It is not enough, that wee dare not deny men to be truly Religious: but it were meet we should know them, at least, conceive good hope, they are truly Religious, (at least in the judgement of charity) before wee receive them into the Church.

And



And of such there are not many thousands, no nor many scores, **PART I.**  
no nor any scores, whom wee dare spoile of Church priviledges,  
unlesse their own offence, or choice spoyle them.

Secondly, if men be not Religious, no not so much as in pro-  
fession, why should it be accounted a grievous absurdity, not to  
receive them into the Church? A thing is absurd, which is *ἀνόμα*  
out of place. Are men who are not spirituall, out of their place,  
when they are not placed in a spirituall society? If the Churches  
be (as Christ describeth them) golden Candlesticks (*Revel. I. 20.*)  
is Tinne and Lead out of place, when it is not soldered into a  
Golden vessell? Sure God himselfe thought otherwise, *I. 125.*  
But is it not rather a grievous absurditie, and farre out of place,  
when such are admitted to the Lords Table, who either discern  
not the Lords Body, or if they be admitted to drink his Blood,  
will be ready when they are got into the Field to spill the inno-  
cent blood of those Roundheads, whom they lately partaked  
withall at the Lords Table?

And as for the great dishonour to God, (which Mr. Baylie im-  
puteth to this way of ours) Is it a dishonour to God, that such  
are withheld from the Lords Table, by whom the name of God  
is dishonoured either through their ignorance or scandall?

Is it not rather a great dishonour to God, to set up Christ a visi-  
ble head of such members, by whom his name is evill spoken of?  
And what cruelty is it against men, to keep such from eating and  
drinking the Lords Supper, who would eate and drink it un-  
worthily, and so eate and drinke their own damnation? *1 Cor.*  
*11. 29.* The Lord himselfe thought it no cruelty to debarre our  
first parents from the Tree of life, who if they had found free  
libertie to eate it, would have blessed themselves in a false hope of  
living for ever? *Gen. 3. 22, 23.*

**S E C T. 17.** *Of the second shamefull absurditie said to be  
found in our way of Independency.*

Come we now to a second shamefull absurditie, which he ma-  
keth to be another fruit of our Church-way.

“ That it hath exceedingly hindred the conversion of the  
“ poor Pagans. The principles and practise of Independents  
“ doth crosse this work and hope of it. What have they to do  
“ with those that are without? Their Pastors preach not for

**PART I.** "conversion : their Relation is to their flock, who are Church-  
 " members, converted already to their hand by the labours of  
 " other men, before they can be admitted into their Church.  
 " Of all that ever crossed the *American* Seas, they are noted as  
 " most neglectfull of the work of Conversion. I have read of  
 " none of them, that seeme to have minded this matter.

*Ans.* This is indeed a shamefull absurditie, if it be true : but  
 a finfull and shamefull calumny, if it be false. As indeed false it is  
 in every branch of it. First, there is no principle or allowed pra-  
 ctise of ours that doth hinder (much lesse exceedingly hinder)  
 the work or hope of the conversion of the Natives : though wee  
 professe we have nothing to do to censure *Indians*, and so to judge  
 them that are without, yet wee think it a principall (though not  
 the only) work and duty of our Ministry to attend the work of  
 conversion, both of carnall *English*, and other Nations, whether  
 Christian, or Pagan. The neglect of it, we look at as an ungracious  
 and uncharitable fancy. How shall men (ordinarily) be conver-  
 ted to the faith without hearing ? and how shall they heare with-  
 out preaching ? and how shall they preach, unlesse they be sent ?  
 and who are now sent, but Pastors and Teachers ?

" But the Relation of our Pastors is to their Flock ? What  
 then ? May there not fall out to be Hypocrites in our Flock ?  
 and must wee not preach for their conversion ? And are not  
 the children of the Members of our Church, many of them such,  
 as when they grow up stand in need of converting grace ? and  
 must wee not preach for their conversion ? Besides, when an In-  
 fidell or unbeliever commeth into the Church, doe not all the  
 Prophets that preach the Word, (and among them, surely the  
 Pastors and Teachers are not the least) do they not all apply  
 their speech to his conviction and conversion ? *1 Cor. 14. 24, 25.*  
 What though a Pastour bee a Feeder to his Flock already begot-  
 ten unto God ? Yet he may (and ought to endeavour to) become  
 a Father also in Christ, to such as are yet unregenerate, whether  
 of his Flock, or out of his Flock. To turne many to righte-  
 ousnesse is prophesied of, to bee the work of the מְשִׁיכִי  
 of the New Testament, *Dan. 12. 3.* " But our Church-members  
 " are converted already to our hands by the labours of other  
 " men, before they can be admitted into our Church.

So saith Mr. Baylie indeed : but if hee were here, hee would  
 soon heare many of those who are admitted into our Churches,  
 openly



openly acknowledge, the first work of saving grace to have been wrought in their hearts by the ministry of the Word here, and sometime by the same, or like ministry in our Native Countrey. And the children of the faithfull borne, and baptized in our Churches, will acknowledge no other Ministry, by whom they have beleevd, but that which they have attended upon, here.

“ But (saith Mr. Baylie) I have read of none of them that seeme to have minded the matter of conversion.

*Ans.* 1. What if he have not read, what we preach here of conversion? Doth hee thinke it meet, wee should print all the Sermons wee preach? What if any of us should say, I have not read of any *Scottish* Minister who have published any of their labours in that argument, (save Mr. Rollock, and him in Latine, and that haply in the Schooles, and many have not seene him neither: ) shall we therefore thinke it credible, that so many holy faithfull labourers in Christs Vineyard in that whole Nation, doe not seeme to minde the matter of conversion?

But whether he have read of any of our books of that Subject, or no, surely it is not, because none of such are extant to bee read. He may read when he pleaseth Mr. *Shepard*s two Treatises, one stiled The sincere Convert, the other The sound Beleever, besides fundry Treatises of Mr. *Hooker* touching the Soules Preparation to Christ, Effectuall Calling, and Justification, &c. and when he hath read them, let him then tell the world, whether of all that have crossed the *American* Seas (as hee speaketh) the Ministers of this way have been justly noted to be most neglectfull of the work of conversion. Yea let me make bold in Gods feare to pray Mr. Baylie, and those others, who have noted us as most neglectfull of this work, to enquire and consider whether among all the servants of Christ now living in any reformed Churches (put them all together) they have published so many Treatises of the work of conversion, as the Ministers of this way have done, in *New-England*, and *London*, which I speak not (the Lord is witnesse to my soule) out of carnall Arrogancy to boast of our labours, in so holy and weighty an Argument: but out of conscience to beare witnesse to the way of Godstruth against such an unjust & unworthy scandall. But when I speak of these Treatises of Conversion, I do not include all that are written under the glorious and fallacious stiles of Free Grace, and Gospel-Truth, which neverthelesse doe but indeed lay the Leaven of Arminian-universall-

**PART I.** universall-free Grace, and Antinomian Impenitency : but I speak of those Treatises which are pure from such Leaven. as keeping the patterne of wholesome words and sound doctrine, dividing the Word of truth aright, in the right use of the Law and Gospel, wherein though they sometime declare such works of Grace to be preparations to conversion, which others do take to be fruits of conversion : yet they all agree in this, that such works are found in all that are under the powerfull and effectuall saving work of the Spirit, and Word of Christ, and in none else, which is the light and life of the Saints in Christ Jesus.

I will not here speak of the conversion of *Weaquash*, which (as I heare) is published in a little Script, intituled, *New-England, First-fruits*. Nor would I have mentioned the endeavours of some of our fellow-Brethren here, to helpe forward the work of conversion in *Virginia*, were it not that the blessing of the Lord Jesus upon their labours doth call for acknowledgment. Some honest minded people in *Virginia* discerning their want of spirituall Ministry, sent earnest Letters, and one or more messengers, to the Elders of these Churches here for some of our Ministers to break the Bread of Life to them. The Elders here seeking Counsell of God, and one of another, wee borrowed two of the Pastors of our Churches, (Mr. *Knolles* of *Watertowne*, and Mr. *Thomson* of *Braintree*, the Churches being either of them supplied with two Ministers apeece) and sent them forth solemnely in the Name of the Lord to that work; who as they went along took with them one Mr. *James*, a Minister (though then out of employment) from *New-Haven*, to the fellowship of that work. And for their better encouragement, our Governour here wrote a Letter to the Governour of *Virginia* to acquaint him, and his Assistants, with the occasion and end of their coming, and expressed withall his desire of their Christian entertainment for a time, and peaceable returne, if they found any inconvenience by their coming. What entertainment they found from the major part of the Government there, I forbore to speak. The bloody Massacre, which soon after their dismissal, the *Indians* in those parts executed upon the *English*, cried aloud from heaven, that after a white Horse, God is wont to send forth a red, *Rev. 6. 2, 3, 4*. But neverthelesse, God so farre forth followed their labours with his blessing in the work of conversion, that sundry of them were effectually wrought



wrought upon by the power of the Lord Jesus; whereof some of them came along with our Ministers at their returne, and are received into our Churches: others of them who could not so well dispose of their affaires there, joyned with one Mr. Harrison a Minister there, (who was also mightily stirred up by our Ministers coming:) and they with him have since given up themselves to more holy communion and conversation before the Lord.

Others of the Westerne Islands (as *Barbados*, *Antigua*, *Mevis*) have desired the like helpe from us: but the departure of some of our Ministers since, (one to Heaven, others to *England*) have hitherto detained us from opportunity to afford unto them this like succour for the present.

I will not speak, what opportunity of reaching forth a blessing to the *Indians* in this kind, God hath lately begun to open us a door of: in that divers of their *Sachins*, and *Sagamores* (as they call them, to wit, their *Governors*) have submitted themselves to the government of the *English*, and have willingly subjected themselves to the acceptance of the Ten Commandements, though some of them, doe most stick at the seventh Commandement, as it forbiddeth Polygamy. Neverthelesse otherwise they willingly consent to abandon Adultery and Fornication, and unnaturall lusts.

But though the *Indians* have been slow to learne our language, especially in matters of Religion (howsoever in Trading they soon understood us:) yet wee have often offered to bring up their *Indian* children in our Schooles, that they might learne to speake to their Countreymen in their own language. But because that might prove long, one of our Elders (Mr. *Eliot*, the Teacher of the Church of *Rocksbury*) hath (with the consent of the Natives) preached to them first by an Interpreter, but since having with much industry learned their language, hee now preacheth to two Congregations of them in their own language weekly. One week on the fourth day to one Congregation, who sit down neer to *Dorchester Mill*, and another week, on the sixth day, to another Congregation of them, who sit down in *Cambridge*, neer *Watertown Mill*. To ease and encourage him in his work, the Ministers of neighbour Churches take off by turnes his weekly Lecture on the third day. The fruit hitherto hath been, the *Indians* resort more and more to these Assemblies,

**PART I.** heare with reverence and attention, reforme (and make Lawes amongst themselves, for reformation of) sundry abuses, aske sundry questions for their instruction, and among the rest, an old Counsellor of one of their *Sagamores* enquired, if it might be possible that our God, and our Christ should accept an old sinner such as himsele? Mr. *Elios* answered him, "yes, there was hope, because hee never had the meanes of the knowledge of God offered to him before. And our Saviour Christ did sometimes call into his Vineyard some to doe him service, even in the last houre of the day, in the last part of their lives. And the old *Indian* being demanded if hee understood this? Hee answered, yea, saith he, I understand it, and beleeve it.

It is true, there may be doubt that for a time there will be no great hope of any Nationall conversion, till Antichrist be ruined, and the Jewes converted; because the Church (or Temple) of God, is said to be filled with smoak, till the seven plagues (which are to be poured upon the Antichristian state) be fulfilled: And till then, no man (that is, no considerable number of men out of the Church, as Pagans be) shall be able to enter into the Church, *Rev. 15. 8.* yet neverthelesse, that hindreth not, but that some sprinklings, & gleanings of them may be brought home to Christ, as now and then some Profelytes were brought into the fellowship of the Church of *Israel*, when there was a greater partition wall set up between Jewes and Gentiles, then now there is between Christians and Pagans. And the Lord shine upon them in mercy, in blessing the meanes of his Grace to them in the Lord Jesus.

The proof that none of us seeme to have minded the work of conversion, Mr. *Boylie* alledgeth out of the Book intituled Plain dealing, which saith, "There hath not been sent forth any, by any Church, to learn the Natives-Language, or to instruct them in our Religion first, because they say they have not to do with them being without, except they come to hear and learne English.

*An. 1.* What if there have not bin any sent forth by any Church to learn the *Indians* language? That will not argue our neglect of minding the work of their conversion. For there be of the *Indians* that live amongst us, and dayly resort to us; and some of them learne our language; and some of us learn theirs. And men that love the Lord Jesus doe gladly take opportunity to instruct them



them in our Religion, and to teach them both Law and Gospell. PART I.  
And of late, the Word (as I have said) is publickly preached unto them in two severall *Indian* Congregations, though wee never thought it fit to send any of our English to live amongst them, to learn their language: for who should teach them?

*Ans. 2.* When the Authors of Plain Dealing saith, "We have not instructed them in our Religion, upon this pretence, because wee say, we have not to doe with them being without, except they come to hear and learn English.

I know not whether ever any gave him so weake an account or no: If any so did, it was his rashnesse, or ignorance both of us, and the truth. But if the Author speake it, as a Point of our Profession or practise, that we doe neglect the instruction of the *Indians*, and especially upon such a reasonlesse reason, I will say no more to it but this, it seemeth there are two sorts of Plain dealing: Plain honest dealing, and Plain false dealing, of which latter sort, this speech is.

But Mr. *Baylie* acknowledgeth Mr. *Williams* his endeavours in this kind, but doth thereby the more aggravate our corrupt principles and practise, who have neglected so great an opportunity as to prosecute his course. Onely Mr. *Williams* (saith hee) did as-  
" say, what could be done with those desolate soules, and by  
" little experience quickly found a wonderfull great facility to  
" gain thousands of them to so much and more Christianity  
" both in profession and practice, then in the most of our people  
" doth appeare.

" But the unhappinesse of these principles whereof wee speak,  
" did keep him (as hee professeth) from making use of that  
" great opportunity, and large doore, which the Lord there hath  
" opened to all who will bee zealous of propagating the Go-  
" spell.

*Ans. 1.* If Mr. *Williams* his speech of the wonderfull great facility hee had of gaining so farre upon the *Indians*, be not too too prodigally hyperbolical (as I much fear it is) I thinke his sinne is so much the greater before the Lord, that he did neglect to take the opportunitie of preaching to them the Word of the Lord, that they might have been brought on, not onely to an Antichristian conversion (such as hee maketh the conversion of the common sort of Christians in Protestant Churches:) but to a sincere conversion unto Christ Jesus. But I confesse with Mr.

**PART I.** *Baylie*, his own corrupt Principles, (his own I say, not ours) it seemeth have detained him from putting forth his hand to the Lords Plough in so large a Field. For if hee look (as it seemeth) for new Apostles to be sent immediately from Christ for such a work : or if hee think, no Church is, or will be extant upon the face of the earth, till Antichrist bee abolished out of the world, these and such like principles are enough, not onely to retard him from the planting of Churches amongst *Indians*, but also to further him in supplanting all the Churches of Christ in Christendome.

*Ans. 2.* I said not without cause, that I feared Mr. *Williams* his testimony of the facility of such a conversion of the *Indians* was too hyperbolicall. For I received advertisement from Mr. *James* (one of the Ministers, who went to *Virginia* upon the Lords worke, of which I spake before) that whilst he was detained (by winds) in *Mary-land* (a Popish Plantation between us and *Virginia*) he saw, as I remember, (for his Letter is not present at hand with me) 40. *Indians* baptized in new Shirts, which the Catholicks had given them for their encouragement unto Baptisme. But he tarried there so long for a faire winde, that before his departure, he saw the *Indians* (when their shirts were foule, and they knew not how to wash them) come againe to make a new motion, either the Catholick *English* there must give them new Shirts, or else they would renounce their Baptisme. I doubt, the *Indians* about Mr. *Williams* are not of a much better spirit. I might mention a fairer instance in these parts, yet such as may argue what kind of facility there is in the *Indians* to conversion, so much as to outward profession. At our first comming hither, *John Sagamore* was the chiefest *Sachim* in these parts. He falling sick, our Pastor Mr. *Wilson* hearing of it (and being of some acquaintance with him) went to visit him, taking one of the Deacons of our Church with him, and withall, a little Mithridate, and strong water. When he came to his lodging (which they call a *Wigwam*) hearing a noyse within, hee looked over the Mat of the door to discerne what it meant, and saw many *Indians* gathered together, and some *Powwaws* amongst them, who are their Priests, Physitians, and Witches. They by course spake earnestly to the sick *Sagamore*, and to his disease, (in a way of charming of it and him) and one to another in a kind of Antiphonies. When they had done, all kept silence,



silence, our Pastour went in with the Deacon, and found the man-farre spent, his eyes set in his head, hee speech leaving him, his mother (old *Squaw-Sachim*) sitting weeping at his beds head, Well (saith our Pastour) our God save *Sagamore John*, *Powwam Cram* (that is, kill) *Sagamore John*: And thereupon hee fell to prayer with his Deacon, and after Prayer, forced into the sick mans mouth with a Spoon, a little Mithridate dissolved in the strong water; soon after the *Sagamore* looked up, and three dayes after went abroad on hunting. This providence so farre prevailed with the *Sagamore*, that he promised to look after the *English* mans God, to heare their Sermons, to weare *English* apparell, &c. But his neighbour *Indians Sagamores*, and *Powwams* hearing of this, threatned to *Cram* him (that is, to kill him) if he did so degenerate from his Countrey Gods, and Religion, he thereupon fell off, and took up his *Indian* course of life again. Whatsoever facility may seeme to offer it selfe of the conversion of the *Indians*, it is not so easie a matter for them to hold out, no not in a semblance of profession of the true Religion. Afterwards God struck *John Sagamore* againe, (and as I remember with the small Pox:) but then when they desired like succour from our Pastour, as before, he told them, now the Lord was angry with *Sagamore John*, and it was doubtfull, hee would not so easily be intreated. The *Sagamore* blamed himself and justified God, and confessed, he should not have been discouraged by their threats from seeking our God: For those *Sagamores* and *Powwams* who did most terrifie him, hee had seene God sweeping them away by death, before himself, in a short time after. And therefore when hee saw hee must die (for hee died of that sickness) hee left his sonne to the education of our Pastor, that he might keep closer to the *English*, and to their God, then himself had done. But his sonne also dyed of the same disease soon after. All which I relate, to shew, that though a forme of Christian Religion may be professed amongst Christians with some facility: yet it is not so easie a matter to gaine these Pagan *Indians* so much as to a forme of our Religion, and to hold it, howsoever Mr. *Williams* did promite himself greater possibilities.

*Answe.* 3. Mr. *Baylie* shall do well to consider, that Mr. *Williams* his speech doth not so much hold forth the facility of the *Indians* to any such conversion, as might fit them for Church-estate, but rather the Hypocrisie and Formalitie of the ordinary Church

**PART I.** Church-Members of Nationall Churches; which he professeth is so far off from true conversion, "that it is the subversion of  
 "the soules of many Millions in Christendome, from one false  
 "worship to another.

*Ans.* 4. It is no unhappinesse of any principle of ours, that  
 "hath kept Mr. *Williams* from making use of his great opportu-  
 "nity, and open door, to propagate the Gospell amongst the  
 "Indians. For though their facility to such a carnall conversion,  
 as hee describeth, gave him no just warrant, to gather them into  
 a Church-estate: yet it was a just encouragement to provoke  
 him (who understood their Language) to have preached the  
 Word of God unto them, which might have been mighty  
 through God (if sincerely dispensed) to have turned them from  
 darknesse to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and so  
 have prepared them, both for Church-fellowship here, and for  
 heaven hereafter.

But if Mr. *Baylie* conceive that either Mr. *Williams*, or else wee  
 were to be blamed, because we doe not presently receive Indians  
 into the Fellowship of our Churches, seeing their facility to con-  
 form their outward man to us, and to so much of our re-  
 ligion, as Mr. *Williams* mentioneth: hee shall doe well to consider  
 before hand, whether *Jacobs* children did wel, to perswade the *Si-*  
*chemites*, (*Gen.* 34.) to receive circumcision; before they better un-  
 derstood the Covenant of *Abraham*, (to which circumcision was a  
 Seale) and had made some better profession of taking hold of it.

**S E C T. 18.** Of the third shamefull absurdity said to be  
 found in our way of Independency.

Come wee now to consider of the third shamefull Absurdity,  
 "which Mr. *Baylie* maketh the fruit of our Independency, break-  
 "ing forth in the practises and profession of the most, who have  
 "been admitted as very fit, if not the fittest Members of our  
 "Churches.

And these evill fruits hee brancheth out into five sorts:

- " 1. (Saith he) in the vilenesse of their Errors.
- " 2. In the multitude of the erring persons.
- " 3. In the hypocrisie joyned with their Errors.
- " 4. In malice against their Neighbors, and contempt of their  
 superiors.



“superiors, Magistrates and Ministers for opposition to their vill way. PART I.

“5. In their singular obstinacy, stiffly sticking unto their errors, &c.

*Ans.* 1. Suppose all this to be true: yet this is so far from discrediting the way of Independency, or arguing the Tree to be bad by these bad fruits, that it doth rather justify the way to be of God, which so easily hath either healed, or removed, so many, so vile, so generally, so subtle, so headstrong corruptions, and them that maintained them. *Non scelus, non scelerum varietas aut atrocitas, is dedecus Politie, sed scelerum impenitus.* The Church of Ephesus was not blamed by Christ, because false Apostles and Nicolaitans were found amongst them: but commended, because she could not beare them, *Rev. 2. 2. 6.* Nor is *Tybatira* blamed, that *Jezabell* was found amongst them, but that they suffered her, *Rev. 2. 20.* What if so many, so hideous vile Errors were found in our Churches? What if the number of erring persons were (as he speaketh) incredible? “Multitudes of men and women every where “infected? almost no Society, nor Family in the Land free “from the pest? *Boston* (which he is pleased to style, the best and “most famous of our Churches) so far corrupted, that few were “untainted? What if they accounted the late Governour their “true friend, and thought no lesse of Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Whe-* “*wright* whom they adored? What if they had drawn to their “sides not onely multitudes of the people, but the ablest men “for parts, in all Trades, especially the Souldiers? What if all “these evils were carryed forth with presumptuous contumacy “against godly Magistrates, and the Orthodox Ministers? yea, “what if to all the rest, they added obstinacy against all whol- “some meanes of redresse and remedy?

Is it not therefore the more evident Demonstration of the gracious presence, and mighty power of God, in the Discipline of our Churches, that did so effectually, so speedily, so safely, so easily, purge out all this Leaven, either out of the hearts of the people, out of their Families, and Churches, or else out of the Country?

Whence the argument seemeth to mee to arise unavoidably.

Those evils, which Independency doth either heal, or remove, they are not the fruits of Independency.

But all these grievous and dangerous evils, Independency did either heal or remove,

**PART I.** Therefore these grievous and dangerous evils were not the fruits of Independency.

Again, That government, which by the blessing of Christ, doth safely, speedily, and effectually purge out such grievous and dangerous evils, as threaten the ruine of Church and State, that government is safely allowed, and justly and wisely established in any civill State.

But Independency by the blessing of Christ doth speedily, safely, and effectually purge out such grievous and dangerous evils, as threaten the ruine of Church and State: therefore Independency is safely allowed, and justly, and wisely established in any civill State.

*Ob. 1.* But this purging and healing of these grievous and dangerous evils was not the fruit of their Independent-Church-Government, but of their civill Government. "We have oft marvelled, that the Eldership of *Boston* did never so much, as call Ms. *Hutchinson* before them, to be rebuked for any of her errors, though their generall Assembly had confuted them, and condemned them: yet still shee was permitted to goe on, till the zeal of the new Governour, and the generall Court did condemne her to perpetuall banishment. Then, and not till then, so far as wee can perceive by the story, did the Church of *Boston* bring a proesse against her. And when the proesse was brought to an end, Mr. *Cotton* would by no meanes put it in execution; that burden was layed upon the back of Mr. *Winn* his Colleague, how ever not the fittest Instrument, being the person to whom Ms. *Hutchinson* had professed greatest opposition. And when the sentence was pronounced against her, they tell us, that the great cause of it was none of her Errors or Heresies, but her other practises, specially her grosse lying.

*Ans. 1.* What ever assistance the civill Government gave to the purging and healing of these evils, it was the fruit of Independent Church Government. For whether the Neighbour Churches suspected our Church of *Boston* might bee partiall, and indulgent to these erroneous persons: or whether they saw, we wanted sufficient witnesses upon which wee might proceed against them in a Church way, they took a right course (according to the principles of the Independent Government) to gather into a Synod with the consent of the civill Magistrates: and in the Synod



nod to agitate, convince and condemn the Errors, and the of-  
fensive carriages then stirring. Whereat the Magistrates being  
present, they saw just cause to proceed against the chief of those  
whom they conceived to have bred any civill disturbance: and  
the Churches saw cause to proceede against their Members,  
whom they found to bee broachers or maintainers of such here-  
sies.

*Ans.* 2. It hath been declared above, why the Eldership of  
" *Boston* did not call *Ms. Hutchinson* before them to rebuke her  
" for her Errors, or to restraine her from going on, though  
" the generall Assembly had confuted and condemned her Er-  
" rors and course.

For though the Errors were condemned, (and by the Elders of  
*Boston*, as well as others: ) yet the errors were not fastened perso-  
nally upon her: nor had we any two witnesses, that would af-  
firm it to us; that shee did broach or maintain such errors or here-  
sies, till after her sentence unto banishment by the generall Court;  
And then indeed, as she was more bold and open in declaring her  
judgment before many witnesses: so the Elders of the Church of  
*Boston* called her to account before the Church, and convinced her  
of her Errors, and with the consent of the Church, layed her, and  
one or two more of her abettors under the censure of an admo-  
nition even for those corrupt opinions, which were charged upon  
her, and proved against her.

" *Ob.* 1. Yea but *Mr. Cotton* would by no means put the cen-  
" sure in execution upon her, that burden must be layed upon  
" the back of *Mr. Wilson*, &c.

*Ans.* The censure of admonition, because it was for matter of  
Erroneous doctrine, it was thought meet to bee dispensed and  
administred by *Mr. Cotton*, who was their Teacher: which  
also (by the the help of Christ) hee did performe, setting be-  
fore her both the corrupt causes of her errors, and the bitter fruits  
of them: and charging her solemnly before the Lord, and his  
Angells, and Churches then assembled, to return from the Error  
of her way.

Afterwards, when upon further serious debate and conference  
with her by *Mr. Davenport*, and my selfe, she was convinced of all  
her errors in particular, shee being called againe before the  
Church, did openly recant every error and heresie, and pro-  
fessed her repentance for every miscarriage against Magistrates

**PART I.** and Elders : which farre exceeded the expectation of the whole Congregation, which then consisted of many Churches, and strangers. But when shee had done, she added withall, " That she " had never been of other judgement, howsoever her expressions might seem to vary. This sounded so harshly, and falsely in the eares of many witnesses, that many rose up to convince her of her falsehood and lying, in so saying. Which when shee did not hearken to, shee was esteemed, by the judgement of the Elders, and our whole Church, to be justly subject to excommunication. Which though I did not think meet to be dispensed by my self (because the offence was not in matter of Doctrine, but of practise, which more properly belonged to the Pastours Office, or ruling Elders :) yet I declared to the whole Congregation the righteousness of the censure, and satisfied the Scruples of some Brethren, who doubted of it. But yet if the Church, or other Elders had put that taske upon me, I should no more have refused the dispensing of the censure of excommunication upon her, then I did before of admonition. Neither was her opposition against Mr. *Wilson* any just reason of exempting him from that duty. For shee saw, wee all with one accord, concurred in that sentence : it was no partiall act of his, but the common vote both of the Presbytery, and Fraternity. And what if she had professed her opposition against us all ? had that been a just excuse to exempt any of us from performing a service due to God, and the Church, yea and to herself also ?

*Object.* 2. " But when the sentence was propounded against " her, they tell us, the great cause of it was none of her " errors, and Heresies, but for other practises, especially her " grosse lying.

*Answ.* Wee could not justly pronounce the cause of her sentence to be her errors and heresies, which she had openly recanted, and given her recantation under her handwriting. Neither did any of us say, That such Heresies did not deserve the censure of excommunication, if she had continued obstinate in them : but wee thought it needfull to follow the rule of the Apostle, not to reject an Heretick till after once or twice admonition, *Tit. 3. 10.* under which if the Heretick relent, the Church proceeding stayeth, unlesse some other offence set it forward, as it did in her case.



S E C T. 19. *Tending to rectifie some mistakes of Mr. Baylie in relating the former absurdities.*

But before I leave this close of Mr. Baylies third Chapter, touching the evill fruits of Independency, let mee advertise him of some few further mistakes in his Narration of the same.

First, when he reckoneth in the front of vile errors, the inhabitation of the person of the Spirit in all the godly, let him weigh what hath been said above, touching that point. And if hee cleare it to be an error, I willingly shall acknowledge, hee shall teach me that, which I yet know not. I professe my self willing to learn of a meaner man, then Mr. Baylie.

“ Secondly, when he maketh the number of the erring persons incredible, almost no society, no family free from that pest, “ *Boston* it self so farre infected, that few there were untainted: let him be pleased to consider, whether his testimony will make it good. His testimonies (recited in his Markes FF. GG.) speak to the utmost of truth, but not so much as he avoucheth. The short Story in Preface, pag. 7. saith indeed, “ They had some “ of all sorts and qualities in all places to patronize and defend “ them: and almost in every family some were ready to defend “ them as the Apple of their own eye.

But this will not make it good, that almost in every family some were infected with the pest of their errors. It is one thing to speak in the defence of erroneous persons, another to speak in defence of errors. Multitudes there were, that thought well of the persons, who knew nothing of their errors, but heard onely of their unbottoming sandy foundations of a spirituall estate, which hath been mentioned above, Chap. 3.

Which may also truly be said even of *Boston* likewise. The body of the Church, the greatest part of them were like those members of the Church in *Thyatira*, of whom it is said (*Rev.* 2. 24.) They knew not the depths of Satan. The truth whereof may evidently appeare by this, That when those errors of *Mistress Hutchinson* were publickly charged upon her before the Church, and proved by sufficient witnesses, the whole body of the Church, and all the Brethren with one accord (save onely her sonne) con-

PART I. sented readily to her censure: which they would not have done,  
 “ if the whole Church of *Boston* (some excepted) had become  
 “ her converts, and were infected with her opinions.  
 “ Thirdly, when hee saith, they adored some of their Mini-  
 “ sters, and instanceth in Mr. *Cotton*; and Mr. *Whelewright*.

Adoration is too vast an Hyperbole to be made good by just testimonies. All hyperbolicall praises, though they may farre exceed the bounds of truth in comparisons of men with men; yet they will not reach adoration, which is divine worship. Neither will it bee made good, That they magnified either Mr. *Whelewright*, or me, for the defence of their errors. Yea they soon forsooke Mr. *Whelewright* (as well as he them) when they saw his judgement (as well as mine) against Antinomianisme, and Familisme.

Fourthly, when he saith, “ *Mistris Hutchinson*, and the late  
 “ Governour, kept almost every day, so private and long dis-  
 “ course with Mr. *Cotton*, that made them conclude all was  
 “ their own.

I must needs professe, that cannot be made good by any wit- nesse of truth, *Mistris Hutchinson* seldome resorted to mee: and when she did, she did seldome or never enter into any private speech between the former Governour and my self. And when she did come to me, it was seldome or never (that I can tell of) that she tarried long. I rather think, she was loath to resort much to me, or, to conferre long with me, lest she might seeme to learne somewhat from me. And withall I know (by good proof) she was very carefull to prevent any jealousy in mee, that shee should harbour any private opinions, differing from the course of my publick Ministry. “ Which she could not well have  
 “ avoyded, if she had kept almost every day so private and long discourse with me.

But what Testimony, or proof doth Mr. *Baylie* alledge for this our private and long conference, almost every day? His marke [Y Y] referreth us to the short story, where it is said, “ They  
 “ made full account the day had been theirs.

But did they make this account upon occasion of these our private, and long, and frequent conferences every day? not a syllable of prooffe for this point. It is not righteous dealing, large charges, and narrow prooffs.

Fourthly, that which Mr. *Baylie* further relateth from the testimony



testimony of Mr. *Williams*, is as farre from truth, as the former.

“ Mr. *Williams* (saith Mr. *Baylie*) told me, that he was employed to buy from the Savages, for their late Governour, and Mr. *Cotton*, with their Followers, a portion of Land without the *Englisb* Plantation whither they might retire and live according to their mind, exempt from the jurisdiction of all others, whether Civill or Ecclesiastick, Mr. *Williams* was in so great friendship with the late Governour, when he told me so much, that I beleeve he would have been loth to have spoken an untruth of him.

*Ans.* But this I dare be bold to say, if Mr. *Williams* told Mr. *Baylie* so much, that he was imployed by me to buy any Land from the Savages, for mee and my followers (as he calls them) he spake an untruth of me, whatsoever he did of the Governour. Yet because I would not speake nor thinke worse of Mr. of *Williams* then necessitie constraineth, I cannot say but that he might speak as he thought, and as he was told; for it may well bee, that such as abused the Governours name to him for such an end, might also more boldly abuse mine. But I must professe, I neither wrote, nor spake, nor sent to Mr. *Williams* for any such errand. If ever I had removed, I intended *Quinipyack*, and not *Aquebnick*. And I can hardly beleeve the Governour would send to him for any such end, who I suppose never thought it likely, that himself should tarry longer in the Countrey, then he tarried in the Bay.

Fiftly, when Mr. *Baylie* objecteth the prophanenesse of these erroneous persons, and justifieth it by the testimonies of Mr. *Weld* and my self, “ And aggravateth the same by their profession of Piety (so farre, that they avow their standing loose from all reformed Churches as uncleane, because of their mixture with the prophane Multitude.)

Let him be pleased to consider; First, what was said above, *Non scelus, sed sceleris impunitas*, is the guilt of a society, whether civil or sacred.

Secondly, what Mr. *Weld* meant by fouler sinnes then pride, or lying, found in those persons, I cannot guesse: nor have I heard of them: unlesse hee meant the adultery of one, who upon his own confession was cast out of the Church for that crime.

As for the testimony of mine, which hee quoteth from some

**PART I.** words in the vialls, wherein the finnes of the people were reprov-  
ed, lett him not improve them further then they will bear. Such  
reproofs doe not alwayes argue finnes of our Church members:  
or if they did, yet not, that those finnes are openly known: or  
if openly known, yet not, that they were tolerated. And yet all  
these must concur, or else the vices found amongst professors,  
will not argue the viciousnesse either of their doctrine or wor-  
ship, or Church Government.

*Luther* complaineth, in *Postill. super Evangel. Dom. ad rom.*  
*Sunt nunc homines magis vindictæ cupidi, magis avari, magis ab omni*  
*misericordiâ remoti, magis immodesti, & indisciplinati, multoque de-*  
*teriores, quam fuerunt sub papatu.* And *Chrysostome*, (in *oper. imper-*  
*f. in Matib. Hom. 49.*) speaketh of Christians as becomming like  
the Hereticks, or Pagans, or worse.

Yet I suppose he that should improve the words, either of  
*Chrysostome*, to argue the discipline of Christians, worse then that  
of the Pagans: or of *Luther*, to argue the discipline of Protestants  
to be worse then that of Papists, he shall doubtlesse stretch their  
words upon the Rack, farre beyond the scope of their meaning.  
The words I spake, were in comparison between the godly Pro-  
fessors in *England*, and ours here, and at such a time, when  
Episcopall persecution made them draw the nearer to God, and  
to walke the more circumspectly before men. But Sheepe let at  
libertie from the feare of Wolves, will straggle further from their  
Shepherd, then when they resent danger.

Thirdly, it is too grosse and heavy an aggravation, which *Mr.*  
*Baylie* putteth upon us, if he meane it of us, & That our pro-  
fession of pietie is so faire that wee stand aloofe from all refor-  
med Churches as uncleane, because of their mixture with the  
prophane multitude.

For it is more then he can prove, or we doe professe. Though  
in the Bishops time, we did not forthwith receive all the mem-  
bers of the Church of *England* into the fellowship of our Chur-  
ches: yet (for ought I know) wee are not likely to stand aloofe  
from Presbyteriall Churches faithfully administred, nor from  
the testimony which they shall give of their members, that may  
have occasion to Traffick hither. And the like doe I conceive of  
other reformed Churches in other Nations of Christendome.  
Presbyterian Churches faithfully administred, are not wont to  
admit a mixt prophane multitude to the Lords Table.



Sixtly, let me take off one instance more, which Mr. Baylie gi-  
veth of one abomination, which to him seemeth strange. "That  
" the Midwives to our most zealous women, should not onely  
" have familiarity with the Devill, but also in that service com-  
" mit devillish Malefices: which so farre as they tell us, were not  
" onely past over without punishment, but never so much as en-  
" quired after.

*Ans.* This accusation is indeed of some weight, because it  
is of a grievous, and devillish crime, and it tolerated. But how  
doth it appeare to him, that it was tolerated? "not onely past  
" over without punishment, but never so much as enquired  
" after?

Why, saith he, so farre as they tell us. So farre as they tell us?  
Is the silence of a short story of this or that fact, a good argu-  
ment, *non dici, ad non esse*? yea it is a good argument on the  
contrary, that there was inquiry made after that Midwife, and  
diligent search into her, or else it would have been recorded, as  
some close conveyance of the erroneous party. The truth is, the  
woman, though she offered her self to the Elders of our Church,  
yet was not received, upon discovery of some unsound principles  
in her judgement. Being then no member, the Church had no  
power to deale with her. But when suspicion grew of her fami-  
liarity with the Devill, especially upon that occasion, which the  
short story relateth, shee was convented before the Magistrates,  
and diligently examined about that, and other evils. But though  
no familiarity with the Devill could be proved against her; yet  
because of some other offences in dealing with young women,  
she was forbidden to stay in the Countrey.

SECT. 20. *Tending to consider what better fruits might  
have been expected from Presbyterian discipline, for  
the removing of the like absurdities.*

Having thus given account to Mr. Baylie of the inconsequence  
of all his discourse from the errors of this countrey, to argue the  
unsoundnesse of our Church discipline, let me now intreat him  
to consider, what better fruits might have been expected in the  
like case from Presbyterianall Government. I demand, if Presby-  
terian Government had been establihed amongst us, should wee  
not

**PART I.** not then have received all these Hereticks, and erroneous persons, into our Church? Yes surely, for no member of the Commonwealth is excluded: well, therein our Congregationall discipline bringeth forth no worse fruit, then their Presbyterian.

I demand againe, if these persons should afterwards fall into error, or Heresie, which could not be proved by two witnesses, what course would Presbyterian government have taken? would it not have forborne processe, till sufficient testimony might be brought to convince them? If suspicion of their unsound judgement had grown, would they not have examined them, and if they denied it, and no sufficient testimony could be brought against them, would not the Presbyters have let them alone? Hitherto we did the same.

I demand further, if any Presbytery in a Church, were suspected to be too remisse in proceeding against such Delinquents, would not the Presbytery of the neighbour Churches have taken the matter in hand, and so gathering into a Synod, first convinced such errors, and then condemned them, and the maintainers of them too, if they were found guiltie of them, and persistent in them? Thus farre also the Presbytery of our neighbour Churches did proceed as to gather into a Synod, and both convinced and condemned the errors. And though they did not proceed to condemne or censure the maintainers of them; yet when they had gotten proof thereof, they proceeded in their own congregations to the censure of their own erroneous members (after all other meanes to recover them used in vaine:) And besides, they dealt with the Presbytery of our Church to doe the same. And wee hearing their complaints and their proofs, wee respectively hearkned to them, and proceeded to the like censure in our Church, as they had done in theirs; And in like sort travelled with our members for their conviction, as they had done with theirs, even so farre, that Mistris *Hutchinson* was brought to a recantation, though her prevarication of it brought her to a censure, yea the utmost censure, and that with generall consent of our whole Church, and satisfaction of others. It seemeth then, that our Independency (as it is called) doth no more breed, nor nourish, nor tolerate errors, or Heresies, then Presbyterian discipline doth. And if there should a defect arise in any Church, there is the like remedy in the vigilancy of other Churches, and finally, obstinacy in all evils of notorious offence, whether in judgement



judgement or practise; meeteth at length with the same or like PART I.  
censure, in either government.

Let not therefore Mr. Baylie allow himself in saying as he doth (in the close of his third Chapter) " That this new and singular way, the Lord hath so manifestly cursed with more bad fruits, and greater store of them, then ever yet did appeare upon the tree of Brownisme. For though it becommeth not us to make comparisons of fruits with other Churches (unlesse themselves did provoke us to it:) nor doth it concern us to deale with them about any offence, unlesse we dwelt neer them, and knew their estate:) yet this is enough to us, to cleare us unto Mr. Baylie, and to the world, against all his exceptions, That (through the mercy of Christ) no evill fruit at all hath sprung from our Church Government. What offence soever, in judgement or practise, hath been suspected or found among us, it hath not sprung from the government, but from personall defects, either among the Brethren or Elders. And what hath been suspected, or found in either of them, hath either been cleared, or healed, or removed by the government. Blessed bee the name of the Lord Jesus, whose throne is in Zion and his furnace in Jerusalem, who delighteth to blesse his own ordinances with power and peace.

### CHAP. IIII.

*Of the antiquitie of Congregationall discipline, compared with Clasicall.*

#### SECTION I.

**M**R. Baylie speaketh of our Congregationall, and (as hee calleth it) our Independent way, as not having continued a week of yeers (that is, not 7. yeers) when the errors brake forth in *New-England*, Pag. 59. Sometimes hee maketh us the same in realitie with the *Brownists* (Pag. 58) to whom he attributeth about 50. yeers continuance, Pag. 59. sometimes he maketh us followers " of Mr. *Robinson*, who stept in to support (as hee speaketh) " languishing Brownisme, when it was ready to fall, Pag. 17. and 54. All which expressions tend to make the world beleieve, that our Congregationall way, or (as he calleth it) Independent, is but of yesterday, newly sprung up, unknown and unheard of in the former Ages of the Church; which if it were true, were no

## PART I.

small prejudice to the way wee walke in. The way of God is the old way, *Jer. 6. 16.* yea so old, as fetcheth his antiquity from the antient of dayes, and from the Lord Jesus, who is the way of Truth and of Life. *Id verum, quod primum: id primum quod ab initio.* There is no false way, but is an aberration from the first institution.

Give me therefore leave to professe freely without offence, what I truly beleve without scruple, that though the Acts of Church-government (in the ordination of officers, and censure of offenders) by the Presbyters of neighbour Churches, be very antient: yet not more antient then *Humani Episcopatus* (as *Beza* calleth it:) nor so antient, as the way of our Congregationall government of each Church within it self, by the space of 300. yeers. I will not here speak of those Texts of Scripture (*Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17. 1 Cor. 5.*) which convince us, that Congregationall discipline was instituted by Christ, and his Apostles. I refer them to the sequels, wherein our particular Tenents are discussed by Mr. Baylie, which will come in due place (God willing) to be reviewed and examined. But,

In the first century, whilst the Apostles lived, wee read of no act of Church-power put forth by the Elders of Churches over absent Congregations, but onely in *Act. 15. 28.* with Chap. 16. 1. But let it be considered:

1. That this Synod was not *Status Conventus*, a set monethly, or yeerly Assembly, the ordinary standing Judicatory of the Church: nor assembled for administration of ordinary Church-power (as ordination of Officers, or censure of offenders) but called together upon urgent, and unwonted occasion, the dissention of the Church of *Antioch*, which both craved, and needed direction in such a case, *Act. 15. 1. 2.* And wee easily grant (what we willingly practise in a Congregationall way) that neither doctrine, nor discipline can well proceed unto publick Edification, when the Church is rent with dissention. The promise of Christs presence with his Church, is given to them met in his name, and agreeing in his Name, *Matth. 18. 18, 19.* But when a Congregation wanteth agreement and peace amongst themselves, it is then a way of God (according to the patterne, *Act. 15. 2.*) to consult with some other Church, or Churches, either by themselves or their messengers met in a Synod. But then they send not to them for power to administer any ordinance amongst themselves, but for light to satisfie dissenters, and so to remove the stumbling block of the



the suspicion of mal-administration of their power, out of the PART I.  
way.

But otherwise, when Churches want not peace nor light within themselves, to exercise that power without distraction, which the Lord hath given them, Christ doth not direct his Churches to gather into a Synod for removing of known offences either in Doctrine or manners: but onely sendeth to the Pastors or Presbyters of each Church, to reforme within themselves, what is amongst them. *Rev. chap. 2. and chap. 3.* A plain pattern to Churches, in case of publick offences tolerated in neighbour Churches, not forthwith to gather into a Synod (or Classicall meeting) for redresse thereof: but by Letters and messengers to admonish one another of what is behovefull; unlesse upon such admonition, they refuse to hearken to the wholesome counsell of their Brethren. And then the dissention of this Church from others hindering the free passage of the Gospell (as much as dissention amongst themselves doth) it may give just and necessary occasion of assembling a Synod of the Elders, and messengers of Neighbor Churches for the conviction of their sin with common consent, and if (after long patience) they remain obdurate, to withdraw from them the right hand of Fellowship in the communion of Churches.

2. The Synod assembled at *Hierusalem*, (*Acts 15.*) was not a convention or consistory of Elders apart from brethren: but such a number of Brethren were admitted into their Assembly, as carried the name of a whole Church, distinguished expressly from the Apostles, and Elders, *Acts 15. 22, 23.* The same who are called the Brethren, distinct from the Apostles and Elders, *ver. 23.* are called also the whole Church, *ver. 22.* And with them is the power communicated, which the Apostles and Elders put forth in those Synodicall Letters, *ver. 22. to 29.* If the Classis doe admit the Brethren of the Church where they meet, to sit with the Elders, in debating and determining the matters of the Synod, even such a number of Brethren, as may denominate them a whole church, as then they shall come neerer to the Primitive pattern, so they may expect a freer passage of the presence and blessing of the Holy Ghost with them.

3. That Synod having heard and argued the whole cause in controverſie, they give their judgement both of the doctrine taught at *Antioch*, and of the persons that taught it, as trouble-  
some

**PART I.** some to the Church, and subversive to their soules, and unwarranted by themselves, *ver. 24.* Nevertheless, they neither excommunicate them themselves, nor command the Church to excommunicate them: but leave that to the Church to exercise their owne power according to the rule of the Word, in case any of their members should be found to persist obstinately in such pernicious doctrine after conviction.

4. That Synod layed indeed a burden (or weighty charge) not onely of a doctrine to be beleived, but of a duty in matter of practise to be performed (for avoiding of offence:) and lay it they did with the greater power, according to the greater measure of Grace and light received, both from Texts of Scriptures clearly opened, and from direction of Apostles personally present. But though wee dare not allow alike equall power to ordinary Synods, unlesse they had the like equall presence and assistance of infallible guides, (such as the Apostles were:) yet our Congregationall way doth easily allow the like power to the like orderly Synods so far forth, that when they have cleared from the Scriptures any doubtfull point of doctrine or practise, to be of necessary observation, they wil readily submit as to a counsell & command of God, both from the Word, and the Word dispensed in the way of an Ordinance. In such a case wee acknowledge (with our best Divines) *Potestatem in Synodis* *δύναμιν, καὶ διατακτικήν* a power in Synods to direct and appoint, what spirituall prudence from the Word shall determine. But it is one thing, to direct and charge Churches from the Word of the Lord; what should be done by them: another thing to doe their Acts of power for them. The one guideth them in the use and exercise of their power: the other taketh their power, or at least the exercise of it, out of their hand, which is more then the pattern of Synods (in *Acts 15.*) doth hold forth.

#### S E C T. II.

In the second century of yeares, the Government of the Church was administred, not in a Classiſical, but in a Congregationall way, as in the former century, of wch we need no better evidence, then the evident Testimony of the *Magdeburgenses*, in the second century, chap. 7, tit. *de consociatione ecclesiarum, cat rum* (say they) *si quis*  
 “ *probatos auctores hujus seculi perspiciat, videbit Formam Gubernationis*  
 “ *propemodum Anagorastis similem fuisse. Singula enim par-*  
 “ *tem habebant potestatem, verbum Dei pure docendi, Sacramenta Ad-*  
 “ *ministrandi*



“ *ministrandi, Excommunicandi Hereticos, & sceleratos, ministros* PART I.  
 “ *eligendi, vocandi, ordinandi, & iustissimas ob causas iterum deponen-*  
 “ *di, conventus & Synodos congregandi, &c.* that is, If a man search  
 “ the approved Authors of this age, he shall see the Form of the  
 “ Government, to be almost like to a Democracy: For every single  
 “ Church had equal power of preaching the Word, administering  
 “ Sacraments, excommunicating hereticks and notorious offen-  
 “ ders, absolving penitents, choosing, calling, ordaining Mini-  
 “ sters, and upon just and weighty causes deposing them again:  
 “ power, also of gathering Conventions and Synods, &c.

What is Congregationall Government, and Independent from other Churches, and Presbyters, if this be not? Though he mentioneth Conventions and Synods, yet he speaketh of them, not as having power to govern the Churches, but of the Churches, as having power to gather them. But the Synods left the power of choosing, calling, ordaining Ministers, of censuring hereticks and offenders, and of absolving Penitents to the single Churches, each one enjoying equall power within themselves. The helpe which neighbour Churches yeelded one to another, was not *Cum imperio, & subjectione*, (as hee speaketh in the same place) not with Dominion of some, and subjection of others, but *Charitatis & edificationis studio*, out of brotherly love and care and desire of mutuall edification. Which made him say, their Form of Government was like well-nigh, or almost to a Democracy: like to a Democracy, in regard of mutuall equality of power in one Church towards another: & yet but almost like to a Democracy, in regard each Church within it self had an Aristocracy of Presbytery for their guidance and Government, though they did no act of Church-Government without concurrence and censure of the Brethren.

The rash attempt of *Victor* (Bishop of Rome) in this age against the Churches of *Asia*, to censure them for a different observation of *Easter*, it onely argueth, that the Mystery of iniquity did more early, and earnestly work in Rome, then in other Churches: but doth not hold forth any received custome of that age, the officers of one Church to proceed to the censure of their Brethren in other Churches. For this attempt of *Victor* was generally contested against by *Irenaeus*, and other Bishops.

### SECT. III.

In the third century of years, the Churches enjoyed (to use the words

PART I. words of the Centurills, "*Cent. 3. cap. 7.*) almost the like form of  
 " Government, according to the course of the Former Age,  
 " though somewhat more enlarged by ambition.

For it appeareth, *Novatus* was excommunicate by a councill at  
*Rome* under *Cornelius*. And *Samosatenus* was excommunicate, and  
 deposed by a councill at *Antioch*. But yet where the Bishops did  
 more attend to the rule of Scripture, and former precedents,  
 Congregationall Churches did still enjoy their wonted liberty  
 and power.

Their Bishops and other Officers were not chosen to their  
 hands by a consistory of Bishops (or Pastors) amongst themselves  
 in the absence of the people: but (as *Cyprian* telleth us) amongst  
 them, in *Carthage*, and almost throughout all the Provinces, "As  
 " they have received from the Apostles, so they hold it, that for  
 " the orderly Celebration of Ordination, all the neighbor Bi-  
 " shops, (or Pastors) of the same Province, where a Minister is  
 " to be Ordained, they come together to that people, and the  
 " Bishop is chosen in the presence of the people, to whom his  
 " life is best known. As (saith hee) was done amongst us in the  
 " Ordination of our fellow-Minister *Sabinus*; his Office was put  
 " upon him by the suffrage of the whole Brotherhood, and by  
 " the judgment of all the Pastors both present, and such as by  
 " Letters gave testimony of him: and so hands were imposed  
 " upon him. *Cyprian Epistolarum l. 1. Epistola 4.* And in the same  
 " Epistle he saith, The people fearing God, and obedient to the  
 " Ordinances of Christ ought to separate from a wicked Ruler,  
 " *Cum ipsa maxime potestatem habeat vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel*  
 " *indignos recusandi*: Seeing the people chiefly have the power of  
 " choosing worthy Ministers, and refusing the unworthy. And  
 as Election and Ordination of Ministers was transacted in the  
 presence and with the suffrage of the people; so was excommu-  
 nication also: for upon this ground, *Cyprian* argueth and aggra-  
 vatech the offence of the Brotherhood in other Churches, who  
 took upon them to question and wave that censure, *post Divinum*  
*Judicium*, (he meaneth, the judgement of Gods Ministers the El-  
 ders) *post populi suffragium*, *post Coepiscoporum consensum*: after the  
 Divine judgment of their Elders, after the suffrage of the people,  
 after the consent of neighbor Ministers, *Cyprian. Epistolarum l. 1.*  
*Epistola 3.* where he giveth to each rank, their proper act in pas-  
 sing Church-censure: hee assigneth to the Elders of the Church



*Judicium*, the judgement : to the people, *Suffragium*, suffrage or P A R T I.  
vote : to neighbour Ministers, *Consensum*, consent.

And that the people had the like concurrence in the absolution and admission of penitents, appeareth by *Cyprian* in the same Epistle, "*Vix Plebi persuadeo* (saith he) *immo extorqueo, ut tales patientur Admitti* : (tales nempe, de quorum sincera Penitentia vix Plebi constabat) & *justior factus est Fraternalis Dolor, ex eo quod unum atque alium obnitente Plebe, & contradicente, mea tamen facilitate suscepti, piores extiterunt quam prius fuerant.*

"With much ado I perswade people, & even wrest it from them, that they would suffer such to be admitted, (of whose repentance they were doubtfull: and the grief of the brotherhood is so much the more just, because one or two before having been received by my facility (the people gainsaying, and striving against it) proved worse afterwards then they were before.

Where though he spake of the peoples gainsaying and striving against his receiving of one or two : yet it evidently appeareth that in his ordinary and usuall course, he was not wont to receive any without the peoples consent. And even then when they did gainsay and strive against his act at first, yet he was not wont to proceed, till with importunate perswasions, and wrastlings with them, he had prevailed with them to give way.

But of others hee speaketh (*Epistolarum lib. 3. Epistola 11.*) "*Ceteros*, saith he, *cum ingenti populi suffragio recipimus* : the rest were received with the free and generall suffrage of the people. And againe, (*Epistola 16. of the same book*) hee thus speaketh "*ad plebem, Examinabuntur singula, presentibus, & judicantibus vobis.*

And indeed (in the end of the tenth Epistle of his third Book) he professeth his resolution to performe no act of Church-Government without consent of the Elders and Deacons, and Brethren of the Church : *A primordio Episcopatus mei, statui, nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu Plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere.*

All these are expresse and lively lineaments of the very body of Congregationall discipline, the same (for substance) wherein wee walke at this day. And therefore let it not bee sleighted or despised, as a Novell invention, of seven, or twenty, or fiftie yeers standing.

## PART I.

## CHAPT. V.

## Of the fruits of Congregationall discipline.

## SECT. I.

## Of the fruits of it in the primitive times.

**W**E have heard of the corrupt fruits, which Mr. Baylie chargeth (but corruptly, and causelessly) upon Congregationall discipline: Let us now see, whether better fruits have not been found to grow upon it, even such fruits as do argue the discipline to be the plantation of the Lord Jesus.

1 Presupposing that which hath been proved, that our Congregationall discipline, is the same (for substance) wherein the Primitive Churches walked for the first 300. yeers, (to wit, during all the time of the Primitive Persecutions) I conceive (without arrogancy) wee may acknowledge the fruits of their discipline to be the fruits of ours.

First, their exact strictnesse in examining and trying their *Catechumeni*, before they received them into *Ecclesiam Fidelium*, brought forth this savory and spirituall fruit, the purity of Churches. Pagans themselves could not charge them with any crime, but the name and profession of Christianitie, see *Pliny Epistolarum lib. 10. Epistolam 97. Tertullian Apologetick Chap. 3.* That which hee saith of *Cajus Sejus*, was a generall Elogy of their Church-members, *Bonus vir, maior tantum quod Christianus.* A like fruit to that of *Daniel* against whom his enemies could find no occasion of complaint of error or fault, except it were for the profession of the Law of his God, Chap. 6. 4, 5.

And as their strict examination received their members pure: so their strict censure kept them pure. For in the Church,  
 “ *Iudicabatur magno cum pondere:* — And in their Feasts they  
 “ were temperate and religiously fruitfull in savory and gracious  
 “ conference, and so departed better then they met, *Ut qui non*  
 “ *tam Cenam cenaverint, quam disciplinam.* *Tertul. Apol. Cap. 39.*

2 From this purity and vigilaney of their discipline, in the admission of their members, and in the administration of their censures, there sprung forth many other gracious fruits, as their holy and constant and confident confessions of the Name of Christ before judgement seates, the patient and glorious Martyrdomes of innumerable Saints, to the conviction and astonishment of a world of persecutors.

Whence



Whence also sprung at last, the conversion of a great part of the word unto the truth, the advancement of a Christian Empe-  
rour, the rooting out of Paganish Idolatry, and propagation of  
the profession of Christian Religion, not onely through the  
Roman Empire, but in many other Nations exempt from the  
power of Roman Armes, yet not from the power of the Name  
of Christ, and of his Church.

PART I.

Afterwards, in the dayes of *Constantine*, when the externall  
peace and libertie of the Churches, encouraged all sorts of men  
(cleane and uncleane) to offer themselves to the fellowship of the  
Church, and Congregationall discipline began to be neglected  
through the usurped authority of the Bishops, and Presbyters,  
the limits of the Church began to bee as large as the Precincts  
of the Parish : and the Church it self (which before was wont to  
be as a Garden inclosed, *Cant. 4.12.*) did now become as a Wil-  
dernesse lying open to all the Beasts of the Field ; who so would  
offer himself, might have free passage into the bosome of the  
Church : and offer themselves they did, not from the favour of  
spirituall gifts (as was wont to bee done in Congregationall di-  
scipline :) but from respect to the countenance of higher powers,  
and the priviledges and preferments flowing therefrom ; Church  
members being farre more readily received to place of trust and  
honour, then men without. But this inundation of corrupt  
members was prevented by the vigilancy of Congregationall  
discipline, whilst it stood in force, in the former centuries.

3. This was another good Fruit of the Congregationall disci-  
pline in those primitive times, That whilst it took place in the  
Churches, there could be no place, nor way open for the advance-  
ment of Antichrist, no nor for the usurpation of Episcopall prela-  
cy. For whilst every Church kept their Government within their  
own Congregation, they knew not the heavy and Lordly yoke of  
Cathedral Churches, much lesse were they trodden down with  
impositions from the Sea of Rome. It is true, *Vicior* Bishop of  
Rome attempted a censure against the Churches of *Asia*, but his  
Arrogancy was speedily repressed by *Irenaeus*, and sundry others  
both in *Europe* & *Asia*. And when some scandalous persons in the  
*African* Churches, did appeale in *Cyprian*s time from those Churches  
unto Rome, *Cyprian*, and his fellow Bishops (or Presbyters) :  
in the *African* Churches, did easily prevent the impeachment of  
their

**PART I.** their Church-Government from remote Churches, and kept still their Government within themselves.

**SECT. 2.** *Of the Fruits of Congregationall discipline in our Churches in New-England.*

2. **F**Or the fruits of Congregationall discipline, as it hath been exercis'd amongst us (though in much weaknesse) the Lord hath not left us without testimony from Heaven.

First, in making these Churches a little sanctuary (through his grace) to many thousands of his servants, who fled over hither to avoide the unsupportable pressures of their consciences by the Episcopall tyranny.

Secondly, in blessing the Ministry of our Preachers here with like fruits of conversion (as in our native Countrey) of sundry elder and younger persons, who came over hither not out of respect to conscience, or spirituall ends, but out of respect to friends, or outward enlargements: but have here found that grace, which they sought not for.

Thirdly, in discovering and suppressing those errors of Antinomians, and Familists, which brake forth here amongst us, and might have proceeded to the subversion of many soules, had not the blessing of Christ upon the vigilancy of Congregationall discipline, either prevented or removed, or healed the same.

Fourthly, it hath been also a testimony from Heaven of Gods blessing upon our way, that many thousands in *England* in all the Quarters of the kingdome, have been awakened to consider of the cause of Church discipline, for which wee have suffered this hazardous and voluntary banishment into this remote Wildernesse: and have therefore by letters conferred with us about it, & been (through mercy) so farre enlightned, as to desire an utter subversion of Episcopacy, and conformity, yea and the Honorable Houses of Parliament, the Lord hath been pleased to helpe them so farre to consider of our sufferings, and of the causes thereof, as to conclude a necessitie of reformation of the Ecclesiasticall state, (amongst other causes, so) by reason of the necessitie put upon so many *English* subjects to depart from all our employments, and enjoyments in our Native Countrey, for conscience sake.



SECT. 3. *Of the Fruits of Congregationall discipline in England.*

3 For the fruits of Congregationall discipline in England, they that walke in that way amongst you, might speak far more particularly, and largely, then I here can doe at such a remote distance. But if Books, and Letters, and reports doe not too much abuse us with false intelligence, the great, and gracious, and glorious victories, wher by the Lord hath wrought salvation for England in these late warres, have been as so many testimonies of the blessing of God upon our way. For the chiefest instruments, which God hath delighted to use herein, have been the Faith and fidelity, the courage, and constancy of Independents. And when I say Independents, I meane not those corrupt Sects and Heresies, which shroud themselves under the vast title of Independency, and in the meane time cast off all Church Government, and Churches too; but such as professe the Kingdom of Christ in the government of each holy Congregation of Saints within themselves.

Far bee it from me to undervalue the brotherly assistance of the Scottish Churches and Commonwealth in working so great a deliverance for England. Yea I account their concurrence a greater matter then assistance in this great work. Their exemplary piety and zeale, their courage, and confidence in rising up, and standing out against the invasion of Episcopall tyranny, and superstition, did doubtlesse quicken and encourage England to stand for the like liberty in the like cause: and to put forth that zeale, which the Lord had kindled in the hearts of many for Reformation. And this was more then an assistance, even a guidance. Afterwards the forwardnesse of the Scottish Nation to advance their Armies into the English Fields for the helpe of England against the Common Enemies of Church and State, was an Act of brotherly love never to be forgotten without due and thankfull acknowledgement, and encouragement. But yet let the good pleasure of the Lord bee acknowledged, who out of his abundant grace, hath granted the chiefest successes to the English designs by the Forces of the Independents, which may not be denied without too much ingratitude both to God and man. Let  
all

**PART I.** all the glory thereof be wholly and solely given to the Lord: but yet let not the instruments be accounted unfruitfull, by whom the Lord hath brought forth such blessed Fruits of victory, and libertie, both from civill servitude, and superstitious thraldome, and withall so great an advancement of Reformation both in Church and State.

The inundation of Sects and Heresies in *London*, and the retarding of Reformation in England, which have both of them been objected as the bitter fruits of the Congregationall way, have been cleared above, to spring from other Roots, not from that way. See Chap. 3. Sect. 5, the end of it.

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PART.

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The second Part (being Doctrinal, and Controversal)  
Concerning Congregational Churches and their  
Government.

The P R Æ F A C E.

**T**He Author of the Book intituled *Vindicia Clavium*, thought good to conceal his own Name, though in matters of Accusation (whereof the Book is full.) It was the manner of the Romans (and that Roman manner was but just and equal) to have the Accuser *shew himself face to face*. Acts. 25. 16. And indeed the equity and equality of Brotherly love would have required him either to have declared his owne Name, or to have concealed mine as well as his owne. A little love amongst Brethren would sooner heal the dissensions of Brethren, then great store of Books, breathing lust to contenti- on. It is neither Presbyterians, nor those of the Congregational way (whom they call Independents) that do hinder either Reformation or Peace: but onely the want of *ἀληθεύειν ἐν Ἀγάπῃ*, the want of following and holding forth the Truth (or that which we believe to be the Truth) in love, on both sides: It is love that edifieth both souls and States.

But since the Author of *Vindicia* is pleased to conceal his Name, I therefore think it not amiss (for brevities sake, and to prevent a long Periphrasis of the Author of *Vindicia Clavium*) when I am occasioned to name him (which is very often) onely to take leave to call him *Vindex*, or (in English) sometime the *Affertor*, sometime the *Avenger*; which both the Title and Purport of his Book, do hold him forth to be, as acting the part of both.

The scope of his Book (so far as it concerneth me) is chiefly to shew forth my weaknesses and contradictions, as his Title manifesteth. But if Christ may have any glory by that, I shall willingly acknowledge (without his accusation, and much more without his conviction) that I am made up of weaknesses and contradictions. The best good in me is but weak at the best: and that which is corrupt, is weaknes it self. If there be Old and New man in me (as by the grace of Christ I see what I am) verily I cannot but finde a bundle, not onely of contradictions, but of con-  
trafactions

trafactions in my self. I believe, I doubt: I allow, I condemn: I hope, I fear: I love, I hate: I rejoyce, I grieve: I would, I would not: I do, I undo: the same self, the same thing, at the same time.

Nevertheles all this will not argue that which the *Avenger* saith; "*He hath heard, that I have often altered my Judgement since I went to New-England: Nor that the Author of the Keys does contradict the Author of the Way, which is himself.*"

I have not had liberty to peruse the *Way*, since it was published: but I see by the first words of it, that the Publishers had not the Copie which was taken hence from me, but an imperfect Transcript. But I do believe what the Publishers do report; *That setting aside some difference in Logical Termes. there is no material difference between the Keyes and the Way, either in Doctrine; Divinity, or in Church-practise.*

Yes, (saith the *Avenger*) I finde, He doth (in these) as flatly contradict himself, as ever any man did. "*Instance in one place. (and leave the rest to the following discourse.) In the Keyes, (Pag. 4.) he saith; The Keys were delivered to Peter as an Apostle, as an Elder, and as a Believer. The sense of the words (of Christ to Peter) will be most full, if all the several considerations be taken joyntly together. But in the Way, (Pag. 27.) He saith, The Power of the Keys is given to the Church, to Peter not as an Apostle, not as an Elder, but as a professing Believer: Is not this a flat contradiction?*"

*Ans. 1.* The words are not mine, but the *Affertors*, which he reporteth me to say in the *Keys*; "*The Keys were delivered to Peter, as an Apostle, as an Elder, and as a Believer.*" I would be loth to be found to speak so il-Logically, as to say, *Socrates* hath a power of motion given to him, as a living Creature, as a Man, as a Philosopher. It is a trivial rudiment in Schools, Whatsoever is attributed to any as such, is given to all such universally, and to such reciprocally, and onely. If the Keys were delivered to Peter as an Apostle, then to all the Apostles, and onely to the Apostles. My words expressed by me are plain enough, and (I thank God) not destitute of reason. "*It hath proved a busie question, how Peter is to be considered in receiving this Power of the Keys, whether as an Apostle, or as an Elder (for an Elder also he was) or as a Believer, professing his Faith before the Lord Jesus, and his fellow Brethren.*"



I added indeed, the sense of the words of Christ to Peter, (*To thee Will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven*) will be most full, if all the several considerations be taken joynly together.

Wherein as I expound mine owne meaning in the words following (in that Treatise of the Keys) So the Publishers of the Keys, do fitly expresse the same in their Epistle [ *The Disposal* (say they) *of this Power, may lie in a due allotment into divers hands according to their several concernments; rather then in an entire and sole Trust committed to any one man, or any sort or rank of Men, or Officers.* ] What saith the Avenger to this? *Herein* (saith he) *Perhaps we might agree with them, but then not with the Author, who places all the power in one sort of men alone, that is, the Brethren without Officers, in the Way, pag. 45.* But the Assertor taketh too much liberty, to affirm, I say that in that place, which in the same passage I do expressly deny; My words are expresse, *They, (that is the Brethren) may not administer Sacraments in defect of all Officers, because by the appointment of Christ, that pertaineth onely to such as are called by Office to preach the Gospel. Matth. 28. 19. 20.*

But (saith the Avenger) in the *Way* (page 27.) He saith *The Power of the Keys is given to the Church, to Peter, not as an Apostle, nor as an Elder, but as a profest Believer, in the name of Believers. Is not this a flat contradiction?* No verily, the Solution is very easie and obvious, even to the Avenger himself, if he would but have cast his eye upon the very next words in the Keys, whence this *ἐν ὀνόματι* is fetched. The words run thus, *The sense of the words will be most full, if all the several considerations be taken joynly together. Take Peter considered not onely as an Apostle, but withal an Elder also, and a Believer too, professing his Faith, all may well stand together. For there is a different power given to all these, to an Apostle, to an Elder, to a Believer: and Peter was all these, and received all the Power which was given by Christ to any of these, or to all of these together.----* So that Augustine did not mistake, when he said, *Peter Received the Keyes in the Name of the Church.*

I cannot conceive what should move the Avenger so confidently to charge a flat contradiction in these two passages, and that as flatly as ever man did contradict himself: unless it were partly through mis-report of my words in the one place: whereof before) partly through mis-apprehension what the force in Logick is, of a qua-

*tenu tale* : For he that knoweth that, he is not ignorant, that if *Peter* had received the Power of the Keys, *quatenus Apostolus*, or *quatenus Presbyter*, as an Apostle, or as an Elder; then onely Apostles, or onely Elders had received all Church power, which all judicious Divines, and (I doubt not) himself amongst them will utterly deny. But he that saith *Peter* received the power of the Keys, as standing in the room of all sorts of Officers and Members of the Church, and so in the name of the whole Church, He affirmeth that *Peter* received all Church power, which is found in all profest Believers, whether Officers, or private Brethren: and of Officers, whether Ordinary, as Elders; or Extraordinary, as Apostles, and Evangelists. And is there any passage in the *Keys* which crosseth or contradicteth this? and that flatly, and so flatly, as never any man more?

Let this serve for my first Answer to this Contradiction: let me also add another.

*Ans. 2.* If there had been some difference between the *Way* and the *Keys* in some expressions: yet (as the Prefacers related from a Letter of mine to a friend of theirs:) it lay rather in Logical Termes, then in Doctrine of Divinity, or Church-Practice: And such, amongst others, is this very point in hand. If there seem to be any difference in the expression of the one Treatise, or of the other, about this point, it is in the first Subject of the Power of the *Keys* (which is a Logical Notion:) but the point is the same, both in Doctrine of Divinity, and in Church-practise.

As for the imputation of Inconstancy, which the *Avenger* is pleased to put upon me, "*He hath heard that I have often altered my Judgement since I went to New-England*: I should thank him if he would tell me either wherein I have altered my Judgement, or from whom he so heard: Mean while, he may do well to remember, That a Citizen of *Zion* (a pure member of a pure Church) taketh not up a Reproach against his Neighbour. *Psal.* 15. 3. *John Baptist* was furnished by some to be a Reed shaken with the Wind; but it was a windy Fancy.

3. And for a third Answer, It were no just matter of calumny if in some latter Tractate I should retract, or express more commodiously, what I wrote in a former less safely. *Augustine* (as much above me, as the Moon to a little Star,) lost no whit of his Reputation in the Church, by writing two whole Books of Retractions of his own Opinions and Expressions.



## § CHAP. I.

*Of the CHURCH, to which Christ committed the Power of the Keyes.*

*Section I.*

**V**Index doth here first enquire what I mean by this Church : hereof, though he might fully have informed himself from the fifth point of the first Chapter of the *Keys* (which himself had in hand :) yet in hope of some advantage, He chose rather to fetch it from another Tract of mine, touching our Church-Way : Which though he say, it went up and down in the dark ; yet its dark walking was no intent of mine, but that it should find either timely impressi<sup>o</sup>n, or (by advice of friends) utter suppressi<sup>o</sup>n. Now in that Tract I said, The Church to which the Lord Jesus committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, (*Mat. 16. 19.*) is *Cætus Fidelium*, commonly called a particular visible Church, meeting together with common and joynt consent into one Congregation, for publike worship, and mutual edification.

*" But (saith the Avenger) of all the rest this is the most impro-  
" bable sense of our Saviours words, If by the Kingdom  
" of Heaven on Earth, he meaneth that Church of which he spake  
" before in vers. 18. But that was either the Catholick Visible  
" Church : or rather the Invisible Mystical Church ; for that only  
" is built upon the Rock, and against that the gates of Hell  
" shall never prevail : Whereas Particular Churches may  
" fail.*

*Answ. 1.* It is not a more improbable sense of our Saviours words, to understand the Kingdom of Heaven (*Matth. 16. 19.*) of a Particular Visible Church, rather then of the Catholick Visible Church. For I do not read that the Scripture doth any where acknowledge a Catholick Visible Church at all. The Catholick Church is not Visible as a Church : and the Church that is Visible, is not Catholick. Doctor *Ames* his Judgement seems to me more Orthodoxal, *Ecclesia non est tota simul Visibilis. Medull. 1. 1. c. 32. num. 1.* For though the whole Church (or which is all one, the Catholick Church) may be Visible in her singular Members ; yet so they are not a Church. Or though it may

may be Visible in the several Particular Congregations, yet none of them is Catholick. Or though all of them together may be called a Catholick Church, or General Assembly, if they were met together; Yet I suppose, *Vindex* would be loth to say, That Christ giveth the Power of the Keyes (all Ecclesiastical Power) into their hands. Such general Assemblies are rare and extraordinary; and extraordinary Assemblies are not fit Judicatories to hear and censure ordinary offences, or to administer the ordinary Acts of Church-Power.

*Ans. 2.* He therefore distrusts (as it seemeth) that to be the meaning of our Saviours words (to understand the Kingdom of Heaven of the Catholick Visible Church) He expoundeth it rather to be meant of the Invisible Mystical Church. And indeed, true it is, that *Peter* and other Preachers of the Gospel have received such a Power of the Keyes, as by the Ministry of the Word, to beget Faith in their Hearers, and so to open to them a dore into the Invisible Church: as also to convince unbelievers of their damnable Estate, and so Ministerially to declare them shut out from the fellowship of the Invisible Church. But there is also a Power of the Keyes, to open a dore unto profest Believers into the Visible Church: and again to shut them out of the Visible Church, when they grow scandalous. And therefore the Visible Church cannot be excluded from one part of the meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven, whereof *Peter* received the Keyes.

Besides, certain it is, that when by the power of the Keyes, a Believer is received into the Invisible Church, he can never be shut again out of that Church. But the Keyes here given to *Peter*, have a Power to shut out of the Kingdom of heaven, even the same Persons, unto whom they have opened the dore before. And therefore the Kingdom of Heaven (whereof *Peter* received the Keyes) is not meant onely of the Invisible Church, but of the Visible Church also,

*Ans. 3.* The reasons which *Vindex* objecteth to the contrary, will not prevail against this Truth, no more then the gates of hell against the Church.

Object. 1. *It is the Invisible Church onely which is built upon the Rock, and against that, the gates of Hell shall never prevail: whereas Particular Churches may fail.*

*Ans.* It is not true, that the Invisible Church onely is built upon



upon a Rock; for Particular Churches are built upon a Rock also. Built they are upon Divine Institution, and Christ is laid for the foundation of them; or else they are not Churches of Christ, which are described to be *in God our Father, and in our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Thes. 1. 1. The Apostle Paul laid Christ for the foundation of the Visible Church of Corinth; 1 Cor. 3. 10, 11. Christ is not the head of that Church whereof he is not the foundation: and where he is the foundation, he is also the Rock, on which they are built; for he is not a sandy foundation.

*"Yea, but Particular Churches may fail.*

What then? So may the true Disciples of Christ fail (in respect of bodily subsistence) and yet the gates of Hell never prevail against them; For they will be received into everlasting habitations. Luke 16. 9.

*"Yea, but Particular Churches may fail and fall away from the Faith; all the Churches of Asia are fallen from Christ to Mahomet: and sundry in Europe, from Christ to Anti-Christ.*

Yet those Churches that were founded upon Christ, and builded upon that Rock, they neither failed, nor fell away. It was their Successors, and not they, that failed, and fell in that sort. If the Posterity of an holy Particular Church do degenerate, they were never founded upon Christ, but in an outward form. God may remove the Candlestick (that is) his particular Church) out of that place (say out of Corinth or Ephesus, Rev. 2. 5.) yet he will ever have some or other Particular Churches visible in one place or other; and so against that Church state, the gates of hell shall never prevail. Dr Whitakers declareth the Judgement of Orthodox Protestants in this point; *Nos dicimus, aliquam semper fore in mundo Ecclesiam, quæ Christo pareat, eamque visibilem, De Ecclesia, Quest. 3. Cap. 2. Junius in his Animadversiones in Bellarm. Controv. 4. de Concil. & Eccles. Cap. 13. Art. 1. Concludimus inquit, ne visibilem quidem Ecclesiam, posse Desicere, atque interire, adeo ut in se ipsa sit invisibilis, &c.* And Doctor Ames beareth the like witness. *Ecclesia nunquam plane desinit esse visibilis. Medull. l. 1 cap. 31.* And this they intend of some Particular Visible Church or other. For a Catholick Visible Church they dispute against, but maintain the Catholick Church to be invisible. Whitakers de Ecclesia Q. 21. 10. *Dicimus Ecclesiam Catholicam invisibilem esse, etiam tum cum Particularis quæq; Ecclesia vel maxime floret.* Obj.

Object. 2. "The Kingdom of Glory is one part of the meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is not contradistinguished to a Particular Congregation, but to the General Visible Church on Earth.

Ans. There is not any Particular Congregation on earth, but may be, upon just occasion, contradistinguished from the Kingdom of Glory. It may truly be said, whosoever is duly bound or loosed in any one Particular Church, is also bound and loosed in the Kingdom of Glory. There is no semblance of difficulty herein.

Nevertheless, when (in the *Keyes* page 2.) I spake of the Power of the *Keyes* given to *Peter* to bind on earth, I did not mean it in any one single Particular Church on earth alone, but generally and indefinitely, in every Particular Church on earth. For every Apostle had transcendent power in every Particular Church on earth: And every Particular Church on earth (being all of one common Nature militant here on Earth, and different from the Tryumphant Church in Heaven) may justly be contradistinguished from the Kingdom of Glory. But yet I never dreamed of a General Visible Church on earth (as *Vindex* expoundeth me:) unless he mean it, as Visible in Particular Congregations. And if he so mean, it will better express the Truth, and my meaning, to say, That *Peter* received the *Keyes* to bind and loose (as in the invisible Church in some sort, so) in the Particular Visible Church indefinitely; that is, in every Particular Visible Church on earth. For a Particular Visible Church is of a common and general nature, and comprehendeth in it every singular Particular Visible Church, as that of Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, and the rest.

Object. 3. "That Church is meant (in *Matth.* 16. 19.) "whereof *Peter* was one (*VVay*, Page 1.) But *Peter* was not a Member of such a Particular Congregation: for there was none such extant, when *Christ* spake these words to *Peter*.

Ans. I presume *Vindex* is not ignorant, that in rational discourses, and propositions of Art, The Copula doth not Connote *Tempus*, but onely Connecteth the Subject, and the Predicate: else he will open a way to insoluble fallacies

As in that Sophisme, *Nullus Infans fuit Juvenis:*

*Omnis Senex fuit Infans:*

*Ergo, Nullus Senex fuit Juvenis.*



This Connotation of time in the *Copula*, breedeth the Fallacy; Let *Vindex* therefore be pleased to leave such arguings to Sophisters, or make use of them when he will refresh his wit in Argument with young Scholars. But amongst Brethren, what it I should say, Resurrection to glory is given to the Bodies of the faithful, whereof Elect Infants are a part? Though the resurrection be not yet come, nor Elect Infants yet come to be faithful? yet the Proposition is true, because the *Subject* and *Predicate* have true Connexion in the nature of the thing, though not in the present order of time. VWhen Christ directed his Disciples, and amongst them, *Peter*, in case of private offence, and obstinacy therein, at length, to tell the Church, whether by Church be meant the Particular Congregation, or the Presbyterie; neither of them both were then extant, when Christ spake these words to *Peter*. But will that be a good Argument to prove, That Christ did not direct the offended Brother either to tell the Particular Church, or to tell the Presbyterie, because neither of them were then extant?

Object. 4. "That Church whereof *Peter* received the *Keyes*, "was such, whereto *Peter* or any offended Brother might tell an offence, and have it censured. But that was never done in a "Church of Saints, Believers without Officers; nor was the "Church of Corinth such a Church, but had Officers, who might "authoritatively censure the incestuous Person, &c.

Ans. This is another passage of Sophistry, but somewhat more open.--- For if the Objection be cast into a true Syllogisme, it will run thus: The Church of which *Peter* received the *Keyes*, was such to which *Peter*, and any offended Brother might tell an offence, and have it censured. But the Church of Saints and Believers without Officers, was not such to whom *Peter*, or any offended Brother might tell an offence, and have it censured.

Thus the *minor* is justly denied: and therefore *Vindex* chuseth rather to put his *minor* in other termes;

The Church of Saints and Believers without Officers, was not such a Church, to whom *Peter* or any offended Brother did tell an offence.

But now there is *Quatuor Termini* in his Syllogisme: Might tell an offence, and Did tell an offence, make two different *Mediums*. VWhat if the Church of Corinth when they censured the Incestuous Person, were not such a Church without Offi-

cers? Or, what if no Church wanted Presbyters in the Apostles times? If it were so, it was the greater bounty of Christ to them in those Primitive times, when the gifts of the Spirit were poured out in more abundance. But yet if a Church of Saints, or Believers without Officers, have power from Christ to elect Officers, then have they power also much more to admit Members. And if they have power to admit them without Officers, they have like power upon just offence to exclude them out of their holy Communion without Officers. For it is the same power to open and to shut, *Instituere, & destituere*.

Object. 5. "*The Church to which the Keyes are given, are said to be such as do all of them meet in one place for the administration of the Ordinances of Christ:*"

"*But the Ordinances of Christ are not to be found much less administered in a Church of Believers without Officers.*"

*Ans.* This latter Proposition is left naked and unguarded without proof. And I confess, *Ipse dixit* may go for a warrant in Pythagorean Philosophy: and *teste me ipso* may go for a warrant in Royal Grants of Favour: but not in matters of Faith, nor of Justice between King and Subject, much less in matters of controversy amongst Brethren. The truth is, Though the Ordinances of Christ may not all of them be administered in a Church of Believers without Officers, and authoritative dispensing of the Word and Censures, and Ministration of Sacraments, yet some Ordinances of Christ may be found and administered in a Church of Believers without Officers. As it is an Ordinance of Christ, two or three of them (much more all of them) to meet and pray together, and admonish one another in Christs Name. Matth. 18. 20. It is an Ordinance of Christ, to elect Officers, (Deacons and Elders:) for this is the power and priviledge of the Church of Brethren. Though Titus was left in Crete to ordain Elders in every Citie (Tit. 1. 5.) yet not to elect them: As Cyprian argueth from sundry passages of the Acts of the Apostles, and other Scriptures; and thereupon inferreth, *Plebs Dominici Præceptis obsequens, & Deum metuens---- ipsa maxime potestatem habet, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.* Cyprian. *Epistolarum*. l. 1. *Epistola*. 4.

And if a Church of Believers may thus supply themselves with Officers when they want them, and if Officers and Brethren have all ordinary Church power, (and so all Ordinances of Christ, which



which are ordinarily administred, found amongst them ) then what hindreth, but that a Church of Believers hath in it, a some Ordinances formally, so all radically and virtually, and the same administred, and administtable amongst them?

Object. 6. "*When it is said (in the VVay, pag. 1.) Christ committed the Keyes to the Church, that is, to a Particular Congregation, it must be meant either Subjective, or Objective; If it be meant in this latter sense, That the Keyes are committed to the Church, as the Object of the exercise of the Keyes, that is, for the good and use of the Church, it is truly said, but nothing to the purpose. In this sense, the Keyes are given first and more immediately to the Invisible Mystical Church (all are yours, whether Paul, &c.) then to the General Visible Church for their sakes; then to the Particular Congregation, as a part and Member of that General Visible Church.*

"*But if it be meant in the former sense (as it must be so meant, or else the Author of the VVay doth equivocate with us from the beginning throughout the whole Book) then he falleth into the extreme of the Brownists, which he so labourerth to avoid. For to take the Church (in Matth. 16.) For a particular Congregation of Believers without Officers, is a new, strange, and false Gloss, maintained by none but Brownists, and such like Separatists.*

Ans. VVhen I said Christ committed the Keyes to the Church, that is, to a Particular Congregation, I meant it indeed *Subjective*, though not excluding *Objective*. For I do not make the Particular Visible Church a different Church from the Invisible. The distribution of the Church into Visible and Invisible, is not into divers kinds of Churches, nor into divers kindes of Members of the same Church, but into divers Adjuncts of the same Members of the same Church: who in respect of their Spiritual and Internal Estate (to wit, their Faith) are Invisible: but in respect of their External condition (to wit, the Profession of Faith) are Visible. The Particular Church (I speak of it indefinitely) receiveth the power of the Keyes both *Subjective* to it self, and *Objective* for it self, though the saving benefit thereof redound onely to the Elect amongst them, who are also of them. "*Neither is this to fall into the extreme of (those whom you call) Brownists, to take the Church for a Particular Congregation without Officers.*

For first, VVhen I wrote that Proposition (in the first words

of the *Way*) it was not then in my mind to understand any other Particular Congregation to which Christ had committed all ordinary Church Power, and the administration thereof, but to a Congregation of Believers furnished with Officers. For I spake of such a Church whereof *Peter* was one; and he was an Officer. Though I perceive *M. Rutterford* understood me otherwise, (as you also do: ) and so from thence raiseth his first controversie: "*Whether the Church of Believers destitute of the Eldership, have the power of the Keyes?*"

VVhich (to avoid misconstruction) I expressed more distinctly in the Tract of the *Keyes*. But yet, take it as he doth, for a Church of Believers without Officers; They have received some part of the Power of the *Keyes* formally, as the election of Officers, &c. and the whole ordinary Power of the *Keyes*, radically and virtually. The stock of the Vine (which groweth in the bulk from the root), hath not immediate power to bring forth Grapes; but yet it hath power to produce branches, which do bring forth Grapes: So the Body of the Church of Believers, though they have not immediate power of rule authoritatively to dispense the VVord, or to administer Sacraments at all: yet they have power to produce such Officers as may perform the same.

Again secondly, Dr *Whitakers* was none of them whom you call Brownists, yet he speaking of this Text (which you quote in this Paragraph, to prove that Ministers are given to the Church *objective*, for their good, not *subjective*, so as the Church to have power over them. 1 Cor. 3. 22. 23. He beareth witness against your gloss: "*Apostolus* saith he, *non tantum ait Ministros institutos esse propter utilitatem, Ecclesiae: sed sic illos esse Ecclesiae, ut Ecclesia est Christi. At Ecclesia Christo subicitur non propter Christi utilitatem instituta est. Et Apostolus Ecclesiam esse Dei Templum, affirmat: Ministri in Templo, non supra Templum. Whitak. Controv. 4. Quest. 1. Num. 11. in fine.* Neither was *Parker* one of those whom you call Brownists, or such like Separatists, but wrote against them. But yet he understandeth the Church (*Matth. 16.*) of a particular Congregation of Believers, as distinct from Officers: yea and proveth it at large. *Parker de Ecclesiastica Politia, l. 3. cap. 1, 2, 3. Object. 7. To conclude; the Church of which our Saviour speaketh, is called here the Kingdom of Heaven (on Earth:) But*

"a Par-



*"a Particular Congregation of Believers is never called the Kingdom of Heaven; being but a Member or Corporation of that Kingdom. It were as improper to call a Congregation, Christs Kingdom, as to call London the Kingdom of England.*

*Ans. 1.* It is not material whether a Particular Congregation of Believers be ever expressly called the Kingdom of Heaven or no; It is enough it is called a Church, yea as it is distinguished from Church Officers. Those whom he calleth the whole Church distinguished from the Apostles and Elders (*Acts 15. 22.*) the same he calleth the Brethren, *vers. 23.* And if the Brethren may be called the Church, they may justly also be called the Kingdom of Heaven, seeing the style of the Kingdom of Heaven is usually given to the Church. You may more truly observe, that the Presbyterie is never called in Scripture the Kingdom of Heaven: no, nor are they called the Church, unless it be in that one place (*Matth. 18. 17.*) which yet may sooner be presumed, then proved to be understood of the Presbyterie; I mean, a Consistory of Presbyters, distinct from the Congregation of Believers.

*Ans. 2.* I dare not say that the Particular Visible Church is never called the Kingdom of Heaven. For when Christ went out to hire labourers into his Vineyard, it was into this or that Particular Church, respectively. And this Vineyard thus destitute of Labourers or Officers, and distinguished from them, is called the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth. 20. 1.*

Again, when the Kingdom of Heaven is compared to ten Virgins, five wise, and five foolish, (*Matth. 25. 1, 2.*) this is a description of the estate of each Particular Church, respectively; without respect to their Officers. Besides, when the Kingdom of God is said to be within us, (*Luke 17. 21.* And all the faithful are said to be made Kings and Priests unto God (*Rev. 1. 6.*) Even a Kingdom of Priests (*1 Pet. 2. 9.*) can it then be termed an improper speech to call a Particular Church of Believers, the Kingdom of Heaven?

*"Yes, they are but a Member, or Corporation of the Kingdom: and it were improper to call London the Kingdom of England.*

But every similar part of a similar Body doth properly partake both in the Name and Nature of the whole. Every part of water is water, and is both cold and moist, as the whole water is. And such a part of such a Body, is a Particular Visible Church.

The

The Church of Corinth is said to be the Body of Christ, and the members thereof, members in particular. And Christ hath given unto them all his Officers, as well as unto other Churches, 1 Cor. II. 27, 28. But such is not the State of London. London is not a similar, but a dissimilar part of England, and different from all the Corporations of England, different in power, different in privileges: How then can a comparison of unequals, be drawn to parallel a state of equalls.

¶ *What the KEYES of the Kingdom of HEAVEN be.*

### *Section II.*

**I**N opening what the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven be, it was not my intent to enumerate them all distinctly and particularly in that first Chapter of the description of the Keys, which was but a Preface and Introduction to the whole Tractate. I thought it enough to give an instance onely in general, there, in two or three examples; reserving a more exact distribution of them to the chapters following: and referring each sort of them to their several Subjects in their proper place, lest I might clogg my self and the Reader with needless repetitions. I therefore contented my self to say in general, "*The Keyes are the Ordinances of Christ, which he hath instituted to be administred in his Church, as the preaching of the Word, as also the administring of the Seals and Censures.*"

I instanced in these, as most obvious, and of easiest apprehension to any vulgar Reader. But in instancing these, I supposed no man would be of so narrow apprehension, as not to conceive those things to be included, without which, these cannot duly be performed. As, the word cannot be preached, nor the Sacraments dispensed, without a vocation unto such spiritual Administrations. Nor can it be doubted, that if there must be a vocation to administer these, there must be also some, who have power from Christ to give such a vocation.

Albeit, If it had been of any weight for the expediting of any controversie about the Keyes (which I know none:) I might easily have given some definition of the Keyes; as to say, The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven are spiritual Powers given by Christ



Christ to his Church to dispense the Treasures of his Kingdom, for the opening and shutting, binding and loosing the spiritual Estates of men in the Church. By spiritual Powers, I mean spiritual callings, and spiritual gifts fitting for them, enabling to some spiritual Acts: By the treasures of the Kingdom I mean the Word, Seals, and Censures, and the spiritual blessings laid up in them. But Callings, Gifts, and Treasures, are all of them Ordinances. The other parts of the Definition, what be the Acts, and Ends, Objects, and Subjects of this power, I opened formerly in the third, fourth, and fifth Paragraphs of the first chapter of the *Keyes*.

But upon what I expressed in this Paragraph, *Vindex* is pleased to animadvert some things.

1. "In this Paragraph (saith he) as you do cleerly lay down the state of the Question: so do you strongly confute the scope of your whole Booke, which is to give the People a share in the Government of the Church.

*Answ.* *Vindex* doth cleerly mistake my scope and meaning, to think I did lay down the state of the Question in this Paragraph. For I think it is no Question at all, That the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, are the Ordinances of Christ, which he hath instituted to be administred in his Church. Neither is it the scope of my whole Book, to give the people a share in the Government of the Church: Nay, it is not the scope of the greater part of the Book: Nay further, there be that blame the Book for the other Extreme, That it placeth the Government of the Church not at all in the hands of the People, but of the Presbyterie. So various are the apprehensions of Books by variety of Readers, and by their sometime judicious, sometime cursory reading.

Least of all is there any colour for this apprehension, that I do "in this Paragraph strongly confute the scope of my whole Booke. "Yes (saith he) For if the Keyes be the Ordinances of Christ, they "are given indeed for the Church of Believers, that is, for their "good and benefit, objective; but are never in all the Scripture, "nor in all Antiquity said to be given to the Church Subjective.

*Answ.* What Power I acknowledge given to the Church of Believers *Subjective*, either in admission of Members, or election of Officers, or censure of Offendors, I do alledge Scriptures for it; which when *Vindex* taketh in hand to evade them, I shall return him (God willing) further answer, which in this place were an unseasonable prevention: But when he affirmeth that such power

as I acknowledge given to the Church, is not to be read of in all Antiquity; it maketh me to suspect, that either he hath not read All Antiquity, (which yet is no crime, onely he should not then have denied them all, to own this Power; for it is not safe to avouch more then we know: ) or if he have read them all, he hath forgotten what is recorded by the most ancient Antiquity for the space of the first three hundred years, during all the time of the Primitive persecutions. Of which I have given account to Mr Baily in answer to the Historical part of his *Diffusive*, (chap. 4. Sect. 1, 2, 3.) whereto I refer him.

"But saith Vindex, it soundeth ill at first hearing, to say, that  
 "the People haue any power to exercise Ordinances, of Preaching,  
 "or administring the Seals or Censures. The power of Preaching  
 "or administring Sacraments by the People, as none but Separatists  
 "do usurp; so your self complain of it, Page 6. And why you  
 "should allow them power in censures, there is very little reason.

Ans. If Preaching the Word, or Administring the Seals, were all the Ordinance which Christ hath instituted and no more but they, Vindex saith true, it would sound ill at first hearing (and if he will, at second and third hearing too) to say, The People have any power to exercise these Ordinances; unless that kind of Preaching be understood, which D. Ames approveth, l. 4. de *Conscientia*, cap. 25. in respons. 3. ad *Quaest.* 1.

But to allow the people a power in Censures, I marvel it should sound so ill at first hearing, of such whose ears have been long wonted to hear of Suspensions, and Excommunications; not onely of private Christians, but even of many Ministers, by Chancellors and Commissaries, who generally are no Ministers, and it were to be wished, that the most of them, (yea, or the best of them) were as good as Brethren. But yet I somewhat wonder, that he that in this Paragraph could alledge all Antiquity, should think it to sound ill at first hearing, That the Brethren of the Church should have any hand in Church Censures; who knoweth what reverend Testimony Ancient *Tertullian* giveth of them ( *Apologetici Capite* 39.) *Quum Probi, Cum Boni Coeunt, Cum Pii, Cum Casti Congregantur, non Factio dicenda est, sed Curia.* And what an hand *Cyprian* giveth to the People in Church censures, none that have read him can be ignorant. What reason there is for their Power in Church-censures (whether little, or much) we shall further consider (God willing) in its place: for here you  
 neither



neither give reasons against it, nor refute our reasons for it.

2. A second thing which *Vindex* animadverts in the former Paragraph is, "that I call the *Keyes, Ordinances, which Christ hath instituted to be administred in his Church, the Church of Believers, a Particular Congregation.*"

"But mark it (saith he) not by a Church without Officers: but by the Officers instituted in the Church.

*Ans.* He need not have bid me to mark that, which if himself had marked, He could not but see, That I never acknowledged it to be in the power of the people to administer all Ordinances, but to administer some Ordinances themselves, and to elect and call such to them, as might administer all the rest.

3. His third Animadversion is, "That I say, the *Keys are neither Sword nor Scepter: for they convey not Sovereign power; but Stewardly and Ministerial: which cleerly (saith he) excludeth the People; for they have no Stewardly or Ministerial Power over themselves.*"

*Ans.* As if the People were not Stewards of the Grace of God given to them! The Apostle Peter maketh account, That *every man hath received the gift, so he should minister the same, as good Stewards of the manifold Grace of God.. 1 Pet. 4. 10.* If the people have received any gift of Grace, they are either Stewards of it, or Lords: Lorus they are not, who must give account to the Lord for the employment and improvement of their gifts: what are they else then but Stewards? Yea, (you will say) but private men may bestow their Gifts privately. But election of Officers is a publike Gift, whatsoever else beside; and that must be dispensed publicly; and that not as Lords, to elect whom they list, but as Stewards and Ministers to Christ, to elect whom the Lord hath chosen.

"I said indeed (in that Paragraph) That Christ in giving the *Keyes, investeth those to Whom he giveth them, with a power to, open and shut the Gates both of the Church and Heaven; and that this power lieth partly in their spiritual calling (whether it be their Office, or their Place, and Order in the Church) and partly in the concurrence and co-operation of Christ, accompanying the right dispensation of those Keyes or Ordinances.*"

"But (saith *Vindex*) I suppose the Word *Calling, should be taken here of some special Calling or Office: which again would exclude the people, as having no Office in the Church.*"

*Ans.* There is no reason why you should suppose, That Calling here should be taken of some special Calling or Office; if special denote a specification of a Calling distinct from other Members of the Church: But if it onely specify a distinct calling, or state, or order different from such as are not members of the Church: so it is true indeed; every Member of the Body hath a special Calling distinct from such Believers or others, as are not yet received into Member-like communion with this or that particular Church; Yea, and every Member of this or that particular Church, hath a calling to put forth some Acts of Power in his own Church, which Members of another particular Church have not power to put forth there, though they may put forth the same each one in his owne Church, respectively: Every Member of the Body of a Particular Church hath some Function, or Action, (or as the New Translation termeth it) some office in the Body. For that which is expressed in the Protasis of the Apostles comparison, is implied in the reddition; *Rom.* 12. 4, 5. As we have many Members in one Body, and all Members have not the same office: so we being many, are one Body in Christ, &c. If all the Members of the Body have not the same office, it implyeth, they have all of them some office or function, or action, though not the same. But custom hath obtained, that they onely are accounted to have a special calling or office in the Church, who are set apart for the eminent administrations in the Church; as the Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons. And such a special calling, it is not requisite that the common Brethren of the Church should have, to dispende that power of the Keyes which is committed to them. For Christ hath neither called them to it, nor given them gifts suitable for it.

*“But (saith Vindex) when you say the Power of the Keyes lieth in their spiritual calling (whether it be their Office or Place, and Order in the Church:) you add this explication on purpose to steal in the interest of the People in some share of the Keyes.”*

*Ans.* It is not stealth, but Justice to give every man his own: Liberty, to whom liberty; power, to whom power; honour, to whom honour belongeth. The Psalmist foretold it in a new song (all which new songs have special accomplishment in the new Testament) That this honour have all his Saints, to wit, in the Congregation of Saints to execute the spiritual censures (or judgments) written, *Psal.* 149. 9. And if the Lord have given them this honour, it is rather stealth (yea sacrilege) to take it from them, then to allow it to them.

But



"*But (saith Vindex) if place, or Order in the Church, do give the People out of Office, any Power in the Keyes; that is, in the Ordinances; then may Women and Children claim an Interest in those Keys, for they have a Place and Order in the Church as well as men.*"

*Ans.* It is not every place or order in the Church, that giveth power to receive the ordinances administered by others, much less power, themselves to dispense ordinances. Children have not power to receive the Lords Supper, much less to administer it. And for Women, God hath expressly forbidden them all place of speech and power in the Church: 1 Cor. 14. 34. 1 Tim. 2. 11, 12. unless it be to joyn with the rest of the Church, in singing forth the publike praises of the Lord. Let every soul enjoy such priviledges and liberties, as the Lord hath given him in his place and order: and neither affect nor attempt more. The Female Sex, and Non-age, fall short of some power, which Christ hath given to the Brotherhood.

¶ *Of the Subject to whom the Power of the KEYES is given.*

### Section III.

**I** Conceive it would be some loss of time and labour, to argue this Question with *Vindex* alone: whose exceptions so far as they concern the point in controversie, are but collections out of the writings of others, who have more distinctly and elaborately disputed the cause. And therefore it will be requisite, in this, and the like points in controversie, rather to consider what hath been written by learned and reverend M. Rutherford, and M. Baily, and yet by the way, not to neglect what personal exceptions *Vindex* hath taken at my self.

In the Way of the Churches of New-England, chap. 1. sect. 1. it was laid down for the first Proposition: "*That the Church which Christ in the Gospel hath instituted, and to which he hath committed the Keyes of his Kingdom, The power of binding and loosing, the Tables and Seals of the Covenant, the Officers and Censures of his Church, the administration of all his publike Worship and Ordinances, is Cœtus Fidelium, a company of Believers, meeting in one place every Lords day, for the admini-*"

*“stration of the holy Ordinances of God to publike edification.*

Vpon this Proposition M. Rutherford ( as he excelleth in acutenes and Scholastical Argumentativeness ) hath raised four Questions, though some of them more then I did intend to point at in the Proposition. Let us consider of them in their order, not with a spirit of contention ( which himself in his Epistle to the Reader, candidly professeth against ) but with a spirit studious of Truth and Peace.

The first Question he raiseth from that Proposition, is this:  
*“ Whether a company of Believers and Saints, builded by Faith  
 “ upon the Rock Christ, and united in a Church-Covenant, be the  
 “ onely instituted Visible Church of the New-Testament, to the  
 “ which Christ hath given the Keys ?*

Himself understandeth the Proposition, as if it held forth the Affirmative. But in very Truth, as the word [onely] is not in the Proposition: so it was far from my intendment, to exclude an Organical Church ( a Church furnished with all her officers ) from being an instituted Visible Church of the New Testament, as well as *Cætus Fidelium*, a company of Christians without Officers. When the Proposition speaketh of Officers as given to the Church, it intendeth them not as meer adjuncts given to a Subject, but as Integral parts given to the whole Body of the Church, for completing the integrity and perfection of it. And so much the very words of the Proposition do imply; for it speaketh of such  
*“ a Church, to Whom Christ hath given the administration of all his  
 “ publike Worship and Ordinances: which is not a power given to a  
 “ Church of private Believers, destitute of Officers.* Howsoever they may be capable (more or less) of some spiritual Administrations: yet doubtles they are not capable of all: and for instance, not of the administration of Sacraments, without Officers.

Neither was it my intendment in that Proposition, to exclude lawful Synods (gathered, and proceeding according to the pattern, Acts 15.) from all participation in some part of the power of the Keyes. For they have a power to decide controversies from the Word, and to appoint a course for the preventing and healing of offences, and for agreement in the Truth according to the Word. But these Synods are not the ordinary standing Judicatories of the Church: neither do they convene, nor exercise their directive Power, but when the particular Churches lie under variance or offence, or are not yet settled in a way of Truth and Peace.



Peace. But my intendment simply was, That each particular Church when it is organized with all his Officers, and walketh in a way of Truth and Peace; There is no part of the power of the Keyes, but a particular Church hath received it within it self, and may administer the same to the edification of the whole body.

Neither let it be thought (in that first Proposition) That I intended to invest a Church of Believers (without officers) with all the power of the Keyes, because I speak of the Election and ordination of officers afterwards. For so I speak also of the gathering and admission of Members: and yet it may not be inferred, that I should intend a Church invested with all power, which yet is destitute both of Members, and Officers. But it is a well known rule of *Method*, to define or describe at first, *Totum Integrale*, with the proper Adjuncts (or Passions) of it, and then to descend to set forth the severall Members, and integrall parts thereof, with their severall operations in due place.

So that this first question raised from this first Proposition is no question at all; and therefore it will not be needfull to examine the distinctions, or conclusions raised up against it. For they do not contradict the true meaning of the Proposition, unlesse it be some parts of the second conclusion, which come in their place to be considered of in the sequele.

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¶ *Touching the power of the Keyes in the Church of Believers without Officers.*

SECT. IIII.

THE second question, which M. Rutterford raised out of the first Proposition formerly mentioned, is

“Whether or not, Christ hath committed the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven to the Church of Believers, which as yet wanteth all Officers, Pastors, Teachers, &c.

But this question, so far as it concerneth my Proposition, (to speak with leave and due Reverence) is as ungrounded as the former. For the Proposition speaketh not of a Church that wanteth all Officers, but of a Church that having received Officers from Christ, hath power to Administer all the Publick worship, and Ordinances of Christ. This point and my plain meaning therein, is more fully and distinctly opened in the small treatise of the Keyes.

But

But for the present stating of the question, our judgement is expressed in two Conclusions; which so far as they are controverted, are to be cleared.

First that the Church of Believers destitute of Officers, hath received some part of the Power of the Keyes: as Power to receive Members, to elect Officers, and to do such other Church Acts, as do not require Office-Rule, or Office-Power.

Secondly, that the Church of Believers, though for the present destitute of Officers, hath in it a Radical or Virtual Power, whereby it may call forth such Officers, as may Administer all those Acts of office-Rule, or Power, which of it self without them, it could not exercise.

Against these two Assertions, I do not find any thing in his distinctions or conclusions, or Arguments which doth prevail with me to depart from them, as indeed he doth not directly so much dispute against these conclusions which we hold, as against that question (which himself by mistake gathered from the Proposition) which we hold not.

"*Though I said the Keyes were given to a Church of Believers, whereof Peter was one, yet that was onely to shew, that Peter in his lowest spirituall relation in the Church (as a Profest Believer) had his share in the power of the Keyes: but not that he had his share in the whole power of the Keyes, as a Profest Believer: but that he had other parts of the power of the Keyes, as an Elder, and as an Apostle immediately given Him by the Lord Jesus.*

In his second Distinction (pag. 7.) "*I do not understand the safety of that speech; That Pastors and Teachers are Gifts, of which the Church is not capable, as a Subject. For the Apostle saith, Christ hath given (amongst other Officers) Pastors, and Teachers to his Church. Ephes. 4. 8. 11. And if He have given them to the Church, the Church is the recipient Subject of them. As if the Eye be given to the Body, the Body is the recipient Subject of it. And though the Church cannot exercise the Pastors, and Teachers place by themselves; yet they may by their Pastors and Teachers. As the Body though it cannot see by it self, yet it may by the eye, which is given to it of God for that end: Neither is it a safe speech (as I conceive) to say, "That the Church is capable of these Gifts (Pastors and Teachers) as the object and end, because the fruit and effect of these Gifts redoundeth to the good of the Church; if that be meant as the onely respect, in regard of which they are said to be*



be given to the Church. For Pastors and Teachers are given to the Church, as Integral parts of the Church, as the Church is *Totum Integrale*. Now Integrall parts are intrinsecall and essentiall to a *Totum Integrale*, and not extrinsecall, as the object, and end be to a thing.

The Testimony which he alledgeth from Reverend *Parker*, and *Baynes*, and the *Parisian School*, doth indeed argue, that the fruit and effect of the gifts of Pastor and Teacher doth redound to the good of the Church (which no man denieth : ) but M. *Rutterford* well knoweth, that *Parker*, and the *Parisian School*, do grant further (even more then I argue for) that the Church is not onely the object and end, but the first subject also of all Church-Power: which though M. *Baynes* wave (in the place alledged by him:) and dispute thereupon both against M. *Parker*, and the *Parisian School* (under the name of *Sorbonists*;) yet he clearly closeth with M. *Parker* and us, in the conclusion; That the visible Church instituted by Christ and his Apostles, to which the Keyes are given, is not a *Diocesan*, or *Provinciall*, or *Nationall Assembly*, but a particular Congregation: *Diocesans* triall, 2. 1. But if M. *Rutterford* intend no more but this, That the Church is not capable of exercise of the Pastors and Doctors place, and therefore is not the first subject of their Office-power; I for my part readily close with him therein, reserving due respect to others of different judgement.

“ In his third Distinction, which he putteth between a formal  
 “ ordinary power, and a virtual or extraordinary power, I do not well  
 “ reach his meaning: For when He cometh to apply this distinction  
 “ in his second Conclusion, He granteth a virtual Power, not For-  
 “ mall, in the Church of Believers to ordain Pastors, or to do some  
 “ such Act, as may supply the defect of ordination: As in a Church  
 “ in an Island, where the Pastors are all dead, or taken away other-  
 “ wayes; and yet he maketh not this an official, or an authoritative  
 “ Power properly, but a virtual, and extraordinary Power, not or-  
 “ dinary: like that which David had to eat the shew-Bread. And  
 “ in like case of extreme necessitie, he alloweth a private man en-  
 “ dued with gifts and zeal to teach publikely. But I confesse, I do  
 not well understand, how a man in case of necessity hath any vir-  
 tual power to do this or that Act, but he hath also a formall power  
 to do such an Act in that case of necessitie. Such an Act I say, either  
 the same in kind, or the same in Analogy. VVhen David did eat  
 the shew-Bread, he had a lawfull not only virtuall, but formall  
 power,

power, as an Israelite in necessity (to whom morall duties were to be preferred before Ceremoniall) to eat for the sustentation of life. When a free People chuse a King, and Crown him, though they be not endued with a formall, but a virtuall Sovereign Power, to give Kingly authoritie which they have not; yet they have formally a Power to yield up themselves unto subjection to such a Person as they have chosen; and that doth virtually and analogically set up him in the Throne. For He that hath formall Power to make one Relative, He hath an Analogicall Power, to set up his Correlative. They that can make themselves Subjects, can make another to be their Sovereign.

But this I willingly admit which he saith, "*That the ordination of Pastors by the Church of Believers, is not an official, nor properly an Authoritative Act of Power.*" For the election of a Pastor by the Brethren of the Church, is an higher Act of power then their ordination is: As the Election of a King is an Act of higher Power, then his Coronation. And yet the Election of a Pastor, is not an Act of official, or Authoritative power: no more then the Election of a King by a free People is an Act of official, or Authoritative Soveraignty.

\* As for the publik Teaching of a private man indued with gifts and zeal, I know not why it may not be allowed, not only in case of extreme necessity, but in some cases of expediency, as when his gifts are to be proved, before he be called into office.

In the third conclusion, "*M. Rutterford telleth us, That as a Reasonable man is the first, immediate, and principal subject of Aptitude to laugh, and the mediate and secondary subjects are Peter and John, and such particular men; So it is the order of Nature to give Church properties, and powers, first to the Species and common Nature of the Church, and not to this or that particular Church.*"

But this conclusion of his crosseth nothing in that first Proposition of mine, nor any other Tenent of ours. For that Proposition doth not make this or that particular Church (which is indeed a singular Church) the first subject of Church Power: But a particular visible Church, which holdeth forth the Species or common nature of each particular, or singular Church.

It is readily admitted what he saith, "*That to be builded on a Rock, victory over hell, and such like, are given, principally and immediately to the Catholick, and Invisible Church, as to the first and principal Subject.*"

But



But we cannot so easily admit that which he subjoyneth, that the Keyes are given to the Catholick Invisible Church, as the first and principal Subject (though we grant they are given for their end and use:) But we rather believe they are given to the particular Visible Church, wherein the power of the Keyes is only exercised and used. The Invisible Catholick Church doth never convene for the Administration of Church-power: And it were in vain to give power to such a subject, which never is called to bring it forth into act.

In his Arguments, M. Rutterford doth chiefly aime at this conclusion; To prove that the Keyes are not given to a Church of professed Believers, destitute of Pastors and Teachers, &c. A conclusion which he is pleased to frame unto himself, but had not occasion to collect it from any words in my Proposition; which onely affirmeth, that the Keyes were given to such a particular Visible Church, whereof *Peter* was one, and to whom *Peter* in case of offence might complain, even to the Congregation. I might therefore omit this Question wholly, but that he so handleth it, as if there were no Church-power at all, but onely that which he calleth official, and Authoritative power: and so he maketh all the Acts of the Brethren of the Church (who are no officers) as no Acts of power at all, and consequently, no part left to the People in the power of the Keyes: which putteth upon me a necessity of clearing some expressions in his Arguments.

1. His first Argument (pag. 9.) is, "*The Church to which the Keyes were given, is builded upon a Rock, is the House of Wisdom, the house of God.*"

"*But such is not a company of Professing Believers, united by Church-Covenant, and destitute of Pastors and Teachers. &c.*"

*Ans.* This latter Proposition is justly denied.

For M. Rutterford himself acknowledgeth a Church in an Island, where the Pastors are taken away by death, or other wise, pag. 8. And if such be a Church, then truly it is built upon a Rock, the Rock of Divine Institution, and the Rock of Christ believed on, and professed. Such a Church is also an House of Wisdom, and an House of God: or else the Wisdom, and presence, and grace of God given to the Church (yea to two or three of the Church) dieth and perisheth with their Church-Officers.

Object. "*The Church of Believers gathered without Pastors and Teachers, though united in a Church-Covenant, yet not being builded by Pastors and Teachers (who are given to gather and to edifie the Body) they are onely the materialls of the House, But not the House.*"

Ans<sup>r</sup>. 1. The Church is truly said to be builded by Pastors and Teachers, upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, when by their Doctrine they were first brought on to believe, and by the same Doctrine taught to assemble into Church-Fellowship. It is true, the faith which they received by the edifying Ministry of Pastors and Teachers, doth not make them Members of the Visible Church, but of the Invisible; and so fit materialls onely of the Visible Church. But yet they being also taught to make profession of their faith before the Lord, and his people, in covenanting or professing subjection to the Lord, and one to another in the use of his Ordinances (so far as they are or shall be committed to them) they thereby receive the form of a Visible Church upon them. For as faith is the essential form of the Catholick Invisible Church: So is the profession of faith, and the obedience of faith to Christ in his Ordinances amongst themselves, the essential forme of a Particular Visible Church, amongst themselves I say. For profession of faith, and of the obedience of faith at large, without respect of subjection to Ordinances in this or that Church, maketh a man no more a member of the Church at York, then of the Church at Edinburgh. But when such a Society of Believers is combined together by profession of faith; and obedience of faith to the Ordinances administred, or administrable amongst themselves; they are now not onely the materialls of a Visible Church, but have the true forme of Church-Estate, notwithstanding their want of Pastors and Teachers. Otherwise Pastors themselves should be the form of the Church, by which it is, and without which it cannot be a Church. As if the Body of a man could not be an Human body, without eyes or armes: Or had onely the matter of a Man, (or some part of the matter) but not the form.

What though such a Society of Believers be not a ministerial Church, without Pastors and Teachers? yet it is not Pastors and Teachers, that giveth them the form of a Church, no not of a Ministerial or Organical Church, much less of an Homogeneal. For Ministers (Pastors, or Teachers) themselves are onely materiall



terials (parts, and members) of a ministerial Church, not the forme of it. The forme of such a Church, is the mutual profession (or stipulation) or (that which amounteth thereto) the Agreement and consent between ministers and people to administer and submit unto, the holy ordinances of Christ amongst themselves, according to the rule of the Gospel. Say not, a "*Church of Believers without Ministers, wanteth the power of edifying the body of Christ, which is required in a Visible Church,* Eph. 4. 11.

For every member of the Church hath an edifying power, received from the head Christ Jesus, to the effectual working of the increase of the body, unto the edifying of it self in love. Ephes. 4. 16.

And though neither all, nor most of the Brethren of a Church have ordinarily received a gift of publike Prophecyng, or Preaching: yet in defect of publike ministers, it is not an unheard of novelty; That God should enlarge private men with publike gifts, and that they that have received such gifts, should take liberty to dispense them unto edification. For we read that when the Church at Jerusalem were all of them scattered abroad, except the Apostles; yet they that were scattered went every where preaching the Word. Acts 8. 5. & 11. 19, 20, 21.

Neither let it be said, "*That such a Church (or Society) of Believers is not Wisdoms house, because it is not builded by Pastors and Teachers, who are given to edifie, and gather the Body.* For though in a material house of wood or stone, the builders do not only prepare the materials, but do also introduce the form: yet in a spiritual house (such as a Church of Believers is) the form is induced not by any formal Act of the Ministry of Pastors and Teachers (though they may be instrumental, in giving a word of Direction: ) but by the voluntary stipulation or profession of subjection of this society of Believers to the Lord Jesus in the use of his ordinances. The Church as it is the house of God; so it is also the Spouse of Christ: Ministers are the friends of the Bridegroom, and of the Bride. The ministers have done their work in preparing the Bride for the Bridegroom; as also in ministering to her when she is married. But in Betrothing her to Christ, the Bride in that work, must her self profess her own acceptance of the Lord Jesus, and subjection to him: which she may do effectually, whether ministers be present and Assistant or no. It is true, mi-

sters are ordinarily present and directive in this Work, and in that respect are sometimes said to espouse them to Christ; 2 Cor. 11. 2. but the formal bond of their Spousage lieth not in the presence or assistance of ministers, but in their own professed yeilding up of themselves unto the Lord in his Covenant. As in the consummation of marriage between man and wife; the bond of the Espousage lieth not in the presence, or assistance of ministers or magistrates, but in the Husbands open profession of his acceptance of her, and in her open profession of her acceptance of him, and subjection to him in the duties of marriage.

His second Argument is taken from the Stewardship of them to whom the Keyes are committed.

*"To them (saith he) are the Keys promised, who are the Stewards of the mysteries of God. 1 Cor. 4. 1. and servants of the house by Office, 2 Cor. 4. 5. and by office to open the dores, and behave themselves aright in Gods house, 1 Tim. 3. 16. and to divide to those of the house their portion of meat in due season, Mat. 24. 45. and to cut out the Word. 2 Tim. 2. 15.*

*"But a Company of Professing Believers, joyned together in Church Covenant, and destitute of Officers, are not stewards by office, nor servants over the house. &c.*

The Assumption Mr Rutterford taketh for granted, and so he well may; unless office be taken in a large sense (as it is in *Tullys Offices*) for a duty, which we owe to every one in his place respectively; and as he saith (*ad Terent.*) *In Familia bene instructa, dicimus omnes in officio esse oportere.* In which sense also the Translators take it in *Rom. 12. 5.* where they speak of all the members of the Body (whether Natural Body or Ecclesiastical) as having all of them received an office, though not all of them the same office, *Rom. 12. 4.* And in the same sense, the Apostle *Peter* exhorteth all the Saints of God to administer the good gifts they have received, as good Stewards of the manifold grace of Christ. *1 Pet. 4. 10, 11.* In this sense every member of the Church may be said to have an office, and a stewardly office in the Church.

But take office properly, for a calling invested with Power to perform special Acts of publike service to the Church; so indeed it implyeth a contradiction, That the Church should be its owne officer. For the very terme of officer implyeth subordination: and Mr Rutterford speaketh properly; That they are servants of the House by Office, whom he putteth for the Officers of the House



House. Now the Church cannot be her owne servant.

But yet this giveth the more just ground of denying the *Major Proposition*. That to them only are the Keyes promised, who are the stewards and servants of the House by Office. The *Mater familias* in the House, hath Keyes of power over her children, and servants, and yet is neither steward nor servant of the House.

It is true, the Keyes are a symbole of power. And power is either Supreme, and Sovereigne; or Subordinate, and Subservient. Sovereign power in the Church belongeth to the Lord Jesus, who is therefore said to have the Key of *David*, to open and none to shut; to shut, and none to open. *Rev. 3. 7.*

And yet in proper speech, Christ is no Church Officer, no officer in the Church, (unless it be to God the Father) no more then the King can be said to be an Officer in the Common-wealth. Officers are of an inferiour rank, *Deut. 16. 18.* But subordinate power is two-fold: 1. *ὀικονομική* *Officiaria Potestas*, stewardly Ministerial Office-Power. And secondly, *Honoraria Potestas*, an honourable Power: such as a King going into a far Countrey may leave to his Queen; whom though He leave her subject to the Laws and Officers of his Court and Kingdom; yet he betrusteth her with this power, that in defect of officers, she it all have power to chuse new, according to the Law: and together with the officers, joynt power, either to admit servants into her family, or upon just cause to remove any of them out of her Family. And that Christ (the King, and Husband of his Church) being gone himself in bodily presence into a far Countrey, hath left this honourable power to his Church, as to chuse their own officers, to joyn in admission of Members, and censure of Offenders; I presume Mr *Rutterford* will not gainsay. To give a touch of each; Plain it is, that when Deacons were to be chosen into office, the Apostles referred the choise of them to the multitude of Brethren, and they performed it. *Acts 6. 1, 2, 3, 5.* When *Saul* essayed to joyn himself to the Church at Jerusalem, he was not received till the Brethrens fear of his carnal estate was removed, and themselves satisfied, that he was a Disciple; *Acts 9. 26.* Let no man except, *Paul* did not essay to joyn himself as a member to the Church at Jerusalem: for he was (as being an Apostle) an Officer, (and therefore a member) in all Churches: For his call to the Apostleship was at first unknown to them: and the

the Argument holdeth so much the stronger, that if the Brethren must be satisfied in the Discipleship of an Apostle, before he can be admitted to joyn with them; much more may they require probable ground of the Discipleship of a Brother, before he be admitted to joyn with them in Church-Communion. And when the Incestuous Corinthian was to be cast out of the Family of the Church; *Paul* referreth the Administration of that power to the joynt proceeding of the Elders and Brethren of that Church, leaving to either sort their concurrence of several power respectively.

Now then to apply this distinction of power to the Argument. All the places alledged by Mr *Rutterford*, do indeed prove "That the Keyes were promised and given to the Stewards and Officers, and Servants in the House of God: which we willingly acknowledge. We acknowledge also that which he affirmeth, "That a company of professing Believers joyned together in Church Covenant, and destitute of Officers, are not stewards by Office, nor servants in the House of God. But this we deny, that all the Keyes, all kind of Power in the Church, is promised and given to the officers of the Church, solely and solidly. All Office-power indeed, is given to the Officers: Nor do we permit the Church of Brethren to usurp any part of office-power unto themselves. But we see the Scripture acknowledgeth other Power in the Church, besides office-power.

I shall not need to enlarge further answer to this second Argument. The Testimonies which he alledgeth to prove his Proposition; they prove, that the Keyes signifie Power, and Authority, and that Stewardly, or Office-Power, is given to the Officers of the Church. But none of them prove, that all power is Office-Power, or that the Keyes hold forth no other power but office-power: or that the Church of Believers hath received no power at all. The Text in *Isa. 22. 22*. speaketh not of a spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, but of a Civil Power. The Text in *Isa. 9. 6.* and *Rev. 3. 7.* speaks not of a Ministerial, or Office-Power, but of a Sovereign Power in Christ Jesus.

What *Schindler* speaketh of מפתח as it crosseth not us: so it concerneth not the Keyes spoken of in *Mat. 16.* where the word in the Syriack is not מפתח but קלורה a word (as it seemeth) taken up from the Greek.

What those many other Authors say of the Keyes in the places alledged by him, do not at all weaken our defence: which maketh me



me (I confess) the more to wonder, that he should conclude that Troup of witnesses with this Period: "*That he thinks while of late, never any Interpreter dreamed, that in this Text, Mat. 16. That the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven are given to all Believers, but onely to the stewards of the House.*"

M. Rutterford knoweth well, that Bucer expounding *Mat. 16.* saith expressly *De Potestate clavium*, "*Hac Potestas penes Ecclesiam omnem est; Autoritas modo Ministerii penes Presbyteros & Episcopos, ut Roma olim Potestas populi fuit, Autoritas Senatus, Ferus*: (not later then Bucer) upon *Mat. 16.* affirmeth; "*Claves datas Ecclesia, ut Domina, & Sponsa: Petro, ut Ministro.* Reverend Baines, though in the first subject of the power of the Keyes he do somewhat dissent from us: yet he confesseth in that third conclusion of his, upon Question 3. page 83. of his *Diocesan Trial*: "*That he setteth down that Conclusion against the Divines of Conscience against our prime Divines, as Luther and Melancton, and against the Sorbonists.* But though all these might be said to be of late, surely Augustine is not of late, whom I think best to quote, as his Testimonies are at large alledged by Doctor Whitakers against Bellarmine; the rather, that so we may take in the judicious Doctors Notes upon them, *Augustine. tractat. 50. in Iohannem*, "*Si in Petro, inquit, non esset, Ecclesia Sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, Tibi dabo claves Regni Caelorum. Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc Ecclesia: Si autem hoc in Ecclesia fit; Petrus quando claves accepit, Ecclesiam sanctam significavit.*"

Again, *De Agon. Christ. c. 30.* He saith, "*Petrum inter omnes Apostolas, Ecclesiae Personam sustinuisse: & claves datas esse Ecclesiae, cum Petro datae sunt.*"

On which, and some such like passages in *Augustine*, Doctor Whitaker giveth this Exposition: This is not saith he, "*That the Church should receive the Keyes suo quodam modo, after a certain sort, but that in Peter they did receive them properly, truly, and more principally, then Peter himself.*"

Let no man except, that by the Church he understood not the Brethren of the Church, but onely the Apostles, and their successors the Presbyters.

For though it be true, that Office-power was given to them onely, yet it is clear; he acknowledgeth (as others do) a power likewise of the people in the government of the Church. In state-  
ing

ing Church-Government, He giveth it thus for a Conclusion.  
 “ *Si velimus Christum ipsum respicere, fuit semper Ecclesie*  
 “ *Regimen Monarchicum: si Ecclesia Presbyteros, qui in Do-*  
 “ *ctrina & Disciplina suas partes agebant, Aristocraticum: si*  
 “ *totum Corpus Ecclesie, quatenus in Electione Episcoporum*  
 “ *& Presbyterorum, Suffragia ferebat, Democraticum. Sic*  
 “ *partim Aristocraticum, partim Democraticum, partim etiam*  
 “ *Monarchicum, est, semperque fuit Ecclesie Regimen. Whitaker.*  
 “ *Controv. 4. Q. 1. c. 1. Num. 2.*

Nor let any put off *Whitakers* or *Augustine*, with this evasion,  
 “ that *Peter* is said to have received the Keyes in the Person of  
 “ the Church, not because the Church is any subject of that power,  
 “ but because it is the end of that power: all the power of the  
 “ Keyes being given to *Peter*, not for himself, but for the good,  
 “ and utility of the Church.

Such an evasion *Chamier* rejecteth with indignation, “ *Hoc-*  
 “ *cine vero (inquit) est candidè agere? hoc cine Augustinum*  
 “ *interpretari? Atqui Augustinus non querit, quem in finem*  
 “ *date sint claves, sed querit cui. Ha vero Quaestiones quanto*  
 “ *separentur intervallo, quis non videt? Sed & exemplo facile*  
 “ *docetur. Vnicuique datur declaratio Spiritus ad utilitatem, in-*  
 “ *quit Paulus, 1 Cor. 12. id est, in Bonum Ecclesie, ut totus sermo*  
 “ *ostendit. An dicat aliquis, eum cui datur Declaratio Spiritus,*  
 “ *Figuram gestare Ecclesie, quum eam accipit? minime vero:*  
 “ *est enim non publicum sed privatum donum: publicum quidem*  
 “ *ipsa utilitate, sed privatum donatione, possessioneque. Cum*  
 “ *igitur querit Augustinus, cui sint date claves, Petro soli, an*  
 “ *toti Ecclesie, importune inculcatur, datas esse in Bonum Eccle-*  
 “ *sie quia nihil obstarè, quo minus & date essent in incommune*  
 “ *Bonum Ecclesie, & tamen soli Petro. At Augustinus hoc op-*  
 “ *ponit, data sunt soli Petro, & date sunt Ecclesie, ut si soli Pe-*  
 “ *tro, non Ecclesie: & si Ecclesie, non soli Petro. Si Petro in-*  
 “ *quit hoc tantum dictum est, non facit hoc Ecclesia.*

I forbear (for brevities sake) to recite what he further disputeth  
 against *Horantius* to the same purpose in the words following, *De*  
*Oecumen. Pontifice. l. 11. cap. 10.*

3 I come to consider of *M. Rutterfords* third Argument, which  
 he propoundeth thus:

“ To those (in *Matth. 16.*) Doth Christ give the Keyes, to  
 “ whom he giveth Warrant for the actual exercise of the Keyes?

But



" But this warrant is official Authority of binding and loosing,  
 " Christ giveth to Peter onely, as representing Apostles, Teachers,  
 " and Elders: and not to a Church of Believers converted co-  
 " venant-wise, and destitute of Officers, Ergo, &c.

*Answ.* The proposition is not alwayes universally safe, if it be understood of the Actuall exercise of the Keyes, ( by them who receive them) in their own person. For Christ himself, who received from the Father the power of all Church Administrations: yet in the Dayes of his flesh, He in his own person baptized no man: *John 4.2.* And after his Ascension, though the Sovereign power of the Keyes do still remain with him, yet he performeth all the Externall exercise of Church-power by his Ministers.

If it be said, that though Christ did not exercise all Church-power in his own person, yet he had warrant so to do: It may justly be replied, Christ best understood his own warrant, and he that did not exercise this or that Act of the Church-power in his own person, surely he did not think it expedient to exercise it in his own Person. And *quicquid non expedit, quatenus non expedit, non licet*: That which is not expedient, so far forth as it is not expedient, is not warrantable.

Besides it is a disputable case amongst Civil, and Canon-Lawyers, and by *Covarruvias* judged for the Affirmative, that in some Cases, the Wife after her Husbands death hath a just Interest in some such Offices as she cannot warrantably exercise in his own Person.

And he instanceth in *Officio Decurionatus. Covarr. Tom. 2. lib. 3. cap. 19. Num. 4.*

Queen *Elizabeth* whilest she lived, had lawfull power to punish her enemies by slaughter in War; Her criminall Subjects by hanging: other offenders by scourging: but it were an hard saying to affirm, that she had Warrant to exercise all these Acts of Power in her own Person.

*Answ. 2.* I willingly grant that Peter ( in *Matth. 16.* )  
 " Received the Promise of all Office-power, as representing the  
 " Officers of the Church, Apostles, Teachers, and Elders: and  
 " with that Power, a Warrant of Officiall Exercise of that Power.

But this I say withall, That Peter in receiving the Keyes ( or the Promise of them ) He received from Christ both sorts of subordinate Church-Power, not only *Officiariam*, but *Honorariam Potestatem*. And in receiving this latter, He represented the Per-  
 Ec  
 son

son of all professing Believers. For it were not reasonable to think, that *Peter* receiving the *Keyes* as a reward of the Profession of his Faith, should receive no power at all to proeiling Believers as such, but all Power only to professing Officers.

Ob. "*But if professing Believers, as such, had received any part of the Power of the Keyes, they had then received the Power of binding and loosing, which they have not: For binding and loosing are the Acts of the Official-Power of the Keyes: Ergo, The Church of Believers being destitute of Officers, and Governors hath not received any part of the Power of the Keyes.*"

Ans<sup>r</sup>. The proof of the assumption of this Argument will not hold, unlesse binding and loosing were the *Adequate* Acts of the Official-Power of the *Keyes*. But though binding and loosing, or (which is all one) opening and shutting, be indeed the *Adequate* Acts of the Power of the *Keyes*; yet not so of their official-Power. The Lord *Jesus* hath the *Key of David*, He bindeth and none looseth, He looseth and none bindeth: (*Rev.* 3.7.) and yet this his binding and loosing are not the Acts of the Official, but of the Sovereign power of the *Keyes*. The Brethren of the Church at *Jerusalem*, who were scattered upon the persecution that arose about *Stephen*: they preached the Word of *Christ* to Jews and Grecians about *Antioch*, and by the good hand of the Lord upon them, a great number believed, and turned to the Lord; *Acts* 11.19, 20, 21. These Brethren in opening the Door of Faith to their Hearers, though they wanted Office, yet they wanted not the Power of the *Keyes*, to open the Kingdome of Heaven unto them.

The Brethren of the Church of *Corinth* concurred with their Officers, in delivering the incestuous person to *Satan*, and afterwards in the publike pardon of him, and release of his censure. In both which they put forth the Spirituall Power of the Lord *Jesus*, which is, the Power of the *Keyes*, 1 *Cor.* 5.4, 5. with 2 *Cor.* 2.7. to 11. And yet they neither had the official-power of the *Keyes*, nor did they exercise it. It was also an Act of Church Power, which the Church of Brethren at *Jerusalem* did put forth in joyning in the Definitive sentence of the Synod, and in sending forth Letters and Messengers to the Churches of *Antioch*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, for the publishing and promulgating of the Sentence. And yet the Brethren themselves neither had office-power in themselves, nor did they exercise it.



Ob. " But these Brethren in Corinth, and Jerusalem, though  
" they had not office-power in themselves, yet they had it amongst  
" themselves in the Apostles, and in the Elders then Assembled:  
" And so with them they might joyn in some Act of Church-power,  
" which without them, they might not have been put forth at all:  
" or if they had, It had been of no power.

Ans. This were indeed to make the Church-Power in Brethren a mere Cipher, yea lesse then a Cipher. For a Cipher though it be of no number or account, unlesse some Figure of the Decad be joyned before it; yet if it be joyned before it, the Cipher will increase the number and account, and make it at least tentold more then it was before. But all the Brethren of the Church without officers, are not onely made as so many Ciphers, as those who of themselves can do no Act of number or account at all: But also though an Officer, or a whole Presbyterie joyn with them, and go before them, yet the Act of the whole Church of Brethren, maketh the Act of no more account, no more value or validity, then it was before; which seemeth to me an unworthy thing and unreasonable. For seeing that the profession of the Faith in Christ was the original ground, (or at least the occasion) of the grant of all Church Power unto *Peter* in the name of the Church, how can it stand either with Faith or Reason, That a Church of Believers professing the same Faith with *Peter*, shall receive no part of Church-Power at all, in respect of their profession of the Faith, but only in respect of their Officers that preach the Faith? whereas *Peter* then spake not as a Preacher only, but as a Professor of the Faith. Faith when it seeth a Promise made to another in respect of this or that Qualification or Duty, It is apt (by the help of the Spirit of Grace) to apply the same blessing, or some part of it at least, unto it self in the same case.

Again, if it were so, that a Church of Believers destitute of officers, should have received from Christ no part of the power of the Keyes, then in case the whole Presbytery of a Church should be removed by Death, or Crime, or otherwise, the Church should cease to be a Church. For the Power of the Keyes comprehendeth the Latitude of all Church-power. And *ut se res habet in esse, sic in operari*. Take away all power of Action, and operation from a Church, and you take away the Church it self. And so you will make Ministers to be not only the Integral parts of a Church, but the Essential parts also. Yea by this means, The estate of the

Church is in worse condition, then is the estate of any civil Commonwealth. For take away all the Magistrates, and Governors of the Commonwealth, yet still the Commonwealth subsisteth in itself; It ceaseth not to be a Commonwealth, nor is it left destitute of all Actions of a Commonwealth. The Body of the People may solemnly assemble together, and chuse out of themselves new Magistrates: or if they want good choice among themselves, they may supply themselves from their confederates. But the Church of Christ (which of all Societies is the most Honourable, and most completely supplied with Power to attain its own end, and is built upon the most sure Foundation) If it be once deprived of her Officers and Rulers, it straightway becometh Null, both in Essence and Action. Time was, when *David* speaking to the Church said, *Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of God*, Psal. 87. 3. And one of those glorious things were, *That her Foundations are in the Holy Mountains*, v. 1. And *the Lord loveth the Gates of Zion, more then all the dwellings of Jacob*, v. 2. But surely, if the Churches Being, did so easily vanish with the losse of their Officers, This would turn their glory into shame, above all other societies.

4. Proceed we now to the fourth and last Argument, whereby *M. Rutherford* goeth about to prove, that the Church of Believers destitute of an Eldership, hath no power of the Keyes.

If the power of the Keyes lay in competition between a Church of Believers destitute of its own Eldership, and a Church of Believers furnished with it (as the question might seem to import) I should easily grant more ample power to a Church with its Eldership, then to a Church without it; or if the competition of the power of the Keyes lay, whether in the Church without the Eldership, or in the Eldership without the Church, (especially when the greater part of the Eldership consisteth of the Elders of other Churches) though we give not much power to a Church without an Eldership: yet we should give lesse to an Eldership without the Church.

But the true state of the question is, whether a Congregational Church of Believers furnished with Officers, and walking in the Truth and Peace of the Gospel, have not received the power of Keyes (the power of binding and loosing) within themselves? or, whether this power be first given to a Classcal, or Provincial, or National Assembly of the Church Officers, or Presbyters: and from them be derived to a Congregational Church of Believers with their Officers?

But



But it may be also a second question touching a Congregational Church of Believers, whether no power of the Keyes (that is, no part of the power of the Keyes) be given to them without an Eldership.

This hath M. *Rutterford* put for the question, and maketh it the Title of every leaf of Chap. I. Sect. 2. "*The Church of Believers destitute of an Eldership have No Power of the Keyes.*"

Three of his Arguments in this question we have already perused: come we now to his fourth.

His fourth Argument then is this: If Christ do not say in this place (*Mat. 16.*) nor in *Mat. 18.* That the Keyes and the Acts of the Keyes (to wit, binding and loosing) are given to a Church of Believers without their Officers, then neither of the places prove, that the Keyes are given to such a Church.

"But Christ doth not say it: Ergo, The Text cannot bear it.

*Answ.* 1. If this Text in *Matth. 16.* Do prove that the Keyes are given to a Church of Believers with their Officers, It is as much as I infer from it.

*Answ.* 2. Yet two things there be in the words of the Text, which do infer, that some part of the Power of the Keyes is given to a Church of Believers without their officers.

The first may be collected thus; If the Keyes be the power of edifying the Church, and the Church be edified of Believers by the Publike profession of their Faith, Then Believers publikely professing the Faith, have some part of the power of the Keyes given to them.

But the Keyes are the power of edifying the Church, and the Church is edified of Believers, by the Publike Profession of their Faith.

Therefore Believers Publikely professing the Faith, have some part of the power of the Keyes given to them.

What may here justly be denied, I see not. The major Proposition is evident of it self. For no man can do any Act of spiritual efficacy, but he hath received from Christ some spiritual Power to do it.

And *habenti dabitur*, to him that edifieth the Church by any power received, to him shall the more abundant power be given to do the same.

The minor Proposition is as clear: For the Keyes are nothing else, but the Instruments of edifying the Church. Though their immediate

mediate and proper work be to open and shut (and Metaphorically, to bind and loose :) yet both these are nothing else but Acts of edifying the Church. And that the Church is edified or builded of Believers, Publicly professing their Faith: the Lord himself doth acknowledge in the words of the Text: when he saith, *Upon this Rock,* (that is, upon this Publike Profession of Faith in me) *I will build my Church.* Peter by this publike profession of his Faith, did edifie himself, and his fellow-Disciples: and thereby obtained both a reward of his Profession, to become the foundation of the Church: and a reward to himself, of receiving the Keyes; that is, a power both by gift, and office to edifie the Church in a more settled manner, and abundant measure, not onely as a Believer, but as a chief Elder, and Apostle.

The second thing in the Text, that may infer some part of the power of the Keyes to be given to a Church of Believers even without officers, may thus be taken up.

If *Peter* had the Keyes given him as a reward, not for doing an Act or Duty of his office, but for doing an Act or Duty common to him with other Believers; then Believers making the same publike confession of Faith with him: As they do partake with him in the Duty, so do they partake also (in some measure) in the reward.

But *Peter* had the Keyes given him as a reward, not for doing any Act or Duty of his Office, but for doing an Act or Duty common to him with other ordinary Believers.

Therefore other ordinary Believers making the same publike confession of Faith with him, they do partake with him in the Duty; so do they also partake in some measure in the promised reward of the power of the Keyes.

The former Proposition is not onely the collection of many Divines both ancient and modern, but it dependeth upon a principal ground of the work of our ministry. For our Ministry taketh it for a sure ground of the Application of Scriptures; That what promise we find given to any upon occasion of this or that qualification or condition, the same is intended by God, and easily applied by us to all others, in whom the like condition or qualification is found according to their measure.

The latter Proposition is so clear, as needs no proof, unlesse we shall make the publike confession of Faith in Christ, not to be the duty of ordinary Believers, and Church-members, but onely of Church-



Church-officers : or unlesse we could find some other occasion, upon which Christ made this Gracious promise of the Keyes to Peter, beside the publike confession of his Faith in Christ before the Lord, and his Brethren.

“ Ob. 1. *When Christ gave the Promise of the Keyes, he speaketh not to the Church, but turneth his speech to Peter, v. 19. saying, I will give to thee (Peter, not to the Church) the Keyes of the kingdome of Heaven. Surely none needeth to teach our Lord to speak: This change of the Persons to whom the Keyes are promised, wanteth not a reason, &c.*

*Ans.* As we need not, so we do not go about, to teach the Lord to speak. Here is no changing of Persons, nor turning of speech, in giving the promise of the Keyes. Christ began his speech to Peter, and he continueth his speech to Peter, from v. 17. to 19. All upon occasion of Peters confession. In v. 17. Christ giveth to Peter a promise of blessednesse from the cause of his confession. In v. 18 He giveth a promise of reward to his confession ; That upon it, as upon a rocky foundation, He will build his Church in impregnable stability. In v. 19. He giveth a promise of reward unto himself upon occasion of his gracious publike confession, even a promise of the Keyes of the Church. And the promise is more fully given to Peter in the Name of the Church, then to the Church by Name ; because it was not the Church by Name that made that confession ; but Peter in the Name of the Church.

Ob. 2. “ *If the Promise were given to Peter in the Name of Believers, how will that stand with the judgement of the way, who will not allow every company of Believers, because they are Believers to be an Instituted visible Church; (to whom the Keyes are given) but they must be a company of Believers professing Covenant-wise, Faith in Christ and Church-Communion. But then the Keyes are not given to Believers because they are Believers, and the Sponse of Christ, but because they are such Professors, and so combined in Church-Covenant.*

*Ans.* The Author of the *Way* doth no where say, That the Keyes are given to a company of Believers, only because they are Believers ; but because they are Believers making publike confession of their faith before the Lord, and their Brethren. For Peter himself received not the Keyes meerly as a Believer, but as a Believer publicly professing his Faith before Christ, and his fellow Disciples in Christs School. If other Writers speak otherwise, (that  
the

the Keyes were given to *Peter* a Believer in the name of Believers) they must be understood to speak of Believers, not as keeping their Faith to themselves, but as making profession of their Faith publicly; so as they come to be received into the society of the visible Church. Faith giveth a man fellowship in the Invisible Church, and in all the inward spirituall blessings of the Church. But it is profession of Faith, that giveth a man fellowship in the visible Church. It is not a society of Believers, as such, that maketh them a Church: for a society of Christian Merchants may meet together in a ship to transport themselves to Hamburrough, or Lubeck but they are not thereby a Church, nor have received Church-power. But if they do publicly professe their Faith, and their obedience of Faith to the Lord Jesus in the publike ordinances of his worship, which he hath committed to his Church, and they are capable of; then indeed they are a professed visible Church of Christ, and a Body united to him, and one to another by such profession, and do also partake in the power of the Keyes according to their measure.

Ob. 3. *"I aske, whether true or false profession be the nearest intervening cause of these, to whom the Keyes are given?"*

Ans. True or false profession may be attended, either in respect of the Doctrine of Faith in Christ professed, or in respect of the Grace of Faith professing it. If the profession of the Doctrine of Faith be true, though the Grace of Faith in the Professor of it be uncertain, and it may be hypocritical (and so false:) yet we dare not deny the nature and power of a Church to such. As the Church judgeth not of hidden crimes, so neither do the Faithfull judge of the Churches by their hidden hypocrisie, but by their open scandals in Doctrine, or life. God would have his people live without anxious perplexity, (as in point of marriage, 1 Cor. 7. 32. so) in every society. It were an inextricable perplexity, to suspend the Essence or validity of Churches or Church Administrations, upon the hidden sincerity of Churches, and of Church-Officers, or Members. It is true, that Church-estate and Church-priviledges, and Church-power are given to Believers, making publike profession of their holy Faith: to them are the Keyes given, and for them. And yet for their sakes God doth vouchsafe both the Name, and Stile, and Power of a Church to such as make the like profession of the Faith with them, though not with the like sincerity. The Church of Sardis had a name to live, yet was dead, Rev. 3. 2. Neverthelesse, the Lord reckoneth it amongst the golden Candlesticks, and walketh amongst



amongst them, *Rev. 2.1.* It appeareth there were a few Names amongst them, that were sincere: *Rev. 3.4.* And Dr *Ames* maketh it most probable, "*That there is no Particular Church, wherein the profession of the true faith doth take place, but that in the same are found some true Believers. Medull. Theolog. l.1.c.32.num.10.*

**Object. 1.** *If a false Profession be sufficient to make Persons a true Visible Church; then 1. The Keyes are not given to Believers, because they are Believers, and united to Christ as his Body and Spouse.*

**Ans.** The Keyes are given to Believers, because they are Believers, making publike confession of their faith. To hypocrites they are given, not for their hypocrisie, but for the truth of that faith which they do profess in common with sincere Believers: and for the sake of those true Believers who do communicate with them, and for whose sake the whole Body is united to Christ, and his Spouse, though adulterous in heart.

**Object. 2.** "*Then the Author of the Way saith amiss, That the Church instituted by Christ, is a company of Believers, faithful and godly men; for a company of hypocrites are not such.*

**Ans.** The Author of the *Way* speaketh of the Church as it ought to be, and as it is in outward visible profession. Hypocrites in outward profession and appearance, go for faithful and godly, and such in truth they ought to be, as well as in appearance.

**Object. 3.** "*Our Brethren prove the Keys to be a part of the liberty of redeemed Ones; but counterfet Professors are not redeemed Ones: nor have they that liberty purchased to them in Christ.*

**Ans.** It is true, the Keys are a part of the liberty of redeemed ones. For the Keys hold forth an Ecclesiastical power, and all power in heaven and earth was given to Christ upon his resurrection from the dead, *Mat. 28.18.* And though counterfet professors be not the redeemed ones of Christ (properly so called:) yet for the sake of the redeemed ones, counterfet Professors have that liberty purchased to them by Christ, as to partake in the power of the Keys. Otherwise what can be said of hypocritical elders, of whom *M. Rutterford* doubteth not, they have received the power of the Keys; and yet though their persons be not the redeemed ones of Christ, yet they have this liberty, or service rather purchased to them by Christ, as to be serviceable to the Church in the administration of the power of the Keys. The spiritual gifts (though common) whereby Apostates are said to be sanctified, were purchased to them by the blood of Christ, *Heb. 10.29.* And yet the power whereby hypocrites or A-

postates lord it over the redeemed ones of God, is but a service.  
Rom. 9. 12.

Object. 4. *"It shall follow, that our Brethren widely mistake a supposed difference, which they devise betwixt the Jewish and Christian Church; to wit, that to make men members of the Jewish Church, external holiness was sufficient, as to be born Jews, to be circumcised, &c. but that the Visible Church of the Gentiles after Christ, must be the Bride of Christ, and by true faith united to him. Whereas the members of a Visible Christian Church, are and may be hypocrites, though not known to be such, as were the members of the Jewish Church."*

Ans. Who it is that M. Rutterford meaneth, to have put this difference between the members of the Jewish and Christian Church, I do not know: but thus far I own it, 1. That the Church of the Jews was National in their solemn assemblies, as well as Congregational in their Synagogues: and that accordingly they had National Congregations in Jerusalem; national sacrifices, and National high Priests, besides national government: but the visible instituted Churches of Christ in the new Testament, are Congregational: 1 Cor. 14. 23. 2. That we do not read of the children of Israel, who were circumcised in their infancy, to have been afterwards debarred from the Passover upon point of moral prophaneſſe: they having many sacrifices to expiate חטאות ceremonially, which Christian Churches have not, but onely pœnitential acknowledgment after censure. In which respect, I suppose (under correction) there was more toleration of sundry moral crimes in the Church-fellowship of the Jews, then ought to be born in Christian Churches. But otherwise I easily acknowledge, that in Christian Churches, as well as in Jewish, many hypocrites creep in, and are long tolerated therein (it may be all their daies) and yet without impeachment of the truth and essence of the estate of Churches whereof they are members, and without infringement of the power of their Church administrations (when dispensed otherwise according to rule) notwithstanding the hypocrisie of sundry members, yea, and of officers also.

To this place it belongeth (I mean to the clearing of this Text, Mat. 16.) to consider of the reasons whereby M. Rutterford goeth about to prove, *"That Christ spake to Peter, as to one representing the Apostles, and not as to one representing all Believers."*

I suppose he understandeth Apostles in a large sense, for all messengers sent of Christ for the ministry of the Gospel in the Church. Otherwise, if he should mean, Christ spake to Peter, as to one repre-



sending the Apostles properly so called (the 12. Apostles) then the Elders of Churches could claim no interest in the power of the Keys from Christs words to *Peter*.

Nor do I maintain from this place, that Christ spake to *Peter* as representing all Believers; but as representing Believers making publike profession of the Name of Christ before the Lord and their Brethren. Against this his Arguments be.

Arg. 1. "*Binding and loosing are denied of our Boethren to belong to many that make Peters confession [Thou art the Son of the living God] as to believing Women and Children.*"

Ans. 1. Women and children, though they being Believers, may make *Peters* confession, yet they make not publike confession before the Lord and his people, as *Peter* did. Now it is to Believers making publike confession of their faith in Christ, to whom the promise of the Keys is made.

Ans. 2. Women are expressly forbidden publike speech in the Church (and therefore publike profession) 1 Cor. 14. 34. And children are not able to make publike profession; And therefore both of them are justly exempted from the power of the Keys.

If it be objected, that it is a new and uncouth exposition of the Text, to interpret *Peters* confession, of the confession which members make of their faith, when they enter into the fellowship of the Church: nor were Christ and his Apostles at that time in hand with any such work.

I answer, Though *Peters* confession of his faith at that time was not made for such an end, for his admission into the household or Church of Christ: yet it is enough, That Christ rewardeth that confession of his, with such a promise of all Believers into his Church by such a dore. It is true, the same confession may be made upon other occasions: but yet this appeareth to be one occasion and use of this confession, to receive professing Believers into the fellowship of the Church, and the ordinances thereof; seeing we read that *Philip* made it a necessary precedential act unto the Eunuch to make the like confession before he would receive him unto Baptisme, which was the seal of his admission, as into Christ, so into the fellowship of his Church. And accordingly it hath been anciently observed in the Primitive Churches, not to receive *Competentes*, or *Catechumens* into the fellowship of the Church, and unto Baptisme, before they had made publike confession of their faith before the Lord and his Church: Which is a thing I doubt not, well known to M. *Rutherford*, to no man more; that I might seem to do him wrong to alledge testimonies for it.

Arg. 2. If Christ had spoken to Peter here of building a ministerial Church upon his confession, and gifting it with the Power of the Keys, then the Visible Church should be made as stable and firm from defecti-  
on, as the Church of elect Believers, against whom the gates of Hell cannot prevail. Now this is most untrue, since Visible Churches do fall away (as the seven Churches in Asia, the Church of Corinth, Ephesus, &c.) and likewise this would warrant the Papists to make use of this place, as they do, to prove the Invincible stability of the Church and their impossibility of Apostacy, &c.

Ans. 1. Though this or that Visible Church do fall away, yet Christ hath ever had some or other Visible Church upon the face of the earth, in one Country or other. Eliè the gates of hell had more prevailed against the Visible Christian Church, then ever this could do against the Visible Jewish Synagogue.

Ans. 2. This or that Visible Church that did fall away, was not a society of such professing believers as were built upon a rock; but rather the sinful generation that rose up after them, who did degenerate from their Parents faith and Profession, and so fell into the gulf of Apostacie, whether Turkish or Antichristian.

Ans. 3. Though the gates of hell have sometimes prevailed against this or that particular Visible Church, holding fast the profession of their faith without wavering: yet they have not prevailed to their destruction, but to their dispersion onely; which tendeth to the multiplication and enlargement of Particular Churches. The persecution raised by the gates of hell against the Primitive Church at Jerusalem about Stephen, it prevailed indeed to the dispersion of the whole Church (save the Apostles) Acts 8. 1. but that dispersion was as seed scattered out of the garner into the field, which bringeth forth a more plentiful harvest. And so did their dispersion propagate Churches both in Samaria and Antioch.

Ans. 4. Nor will this stability of Visible Churches promised by Christ, strengthen the Popish plea of the stability of their Church at Rome. For it is neither that promise of Christ, Mat. 16. nor any other that doth promise stability to any one particular Church in this Citie or Town: nor doth any exposition of ours, reach forth such a thing. The woman may be in the wilderness, and fed by witnesses, (the Church may be in obscure places, and fed by faithful witnesses) when yet neither her self, nor her witnesses dwell in Babylon.